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OUR NEW PROTECTORATE.

VOL. II.

OUR NEW PROTECTORATE

TURKEY IN ASIA

ITS GEOGRAPHY, RACES, RESOURCES, AND GOVERNMENT

WITH A MAP, SHOWING THE EXISTING AND PROJECTED PUBLIC WORKS.

BY

J. CARLILE McCOAN,

AUTHOR OF "EGYPT AS IT IS."

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OUR NEW PROTECTORATE.

CHAPTER I.

PUBLIC WORKS.

Fewness of these of every class—Telegraphs alone extensive, but badly worked—*Roads*—That between Trebizond and Erzeroum—The old highway to Persia—Its military and commercial importance — Wasteful jobbery of former attempts to make it — Present gain from traffic passing over it—Trebizond to Tireboli —Samsoun to Amasia — Ghemlek to Brousa — Beyrout and Damascus—The Lebanon—Jaffa to Jerusalem—Repressive effect of this want on production—*Railways*—Smyrna to Aïdin—Its chequered history — Concession for its extension — Smyrna to Cassaba—Its history—Extension to Aleshehr—Its reversion in 1891 to the Government—Scutari to Ismid—Jobbery of its construction—A first link towards India—Moudania to Brousa—In unfinished dilapidation—*Harbour Works*—Smyrna quay the solitary example—The Porte's great general scheme—Its illusory magnitude—The proposed Turco-Indian lines—That of Sir M. Stephenson—The Stafford House scheme—Their relative merits and defects—Suggestion of a fusion—*Canals*—The utter lack of them, except in broken links near Baghdad—Extent of the field thus open to foreign enterprise and capital — Precedent necessity of reforms.

No better measure of the backward civilisation of Eastern Turkey could be suggested than the present state of its public works. Over an area of nearly seven hundred thousand square miles, with a vast

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coast line on five seas, these comprise only some six hundred miles of carriageable road, two hundred and seventy miles of railway divided between four different lines, of which one is yet unfinished, and one solitary quay, at Smyrna, made and toll-farmed as a private enterprise by foreigners. Of modern irrigation works there are none whatever, nor—except such links as are still serviceable in the old network below Baghdad—a mile of navigable canal anywhere between the Black Sea and the Gulf. In telegraphs alone is the country at all abreast of the times. A very complete network of these extends from Stamboul to Fao, connecting all the principal towns with each other and with the capital; but the manner in which the service is worked was a few years ago, and still is, so inefficient as to have diverted nearly all the profitable through Indian correspondence from the trunk Scutari-Baghdad line, first to the rival Russo-Persian route, and since then to the cables of the Eastern Telegraph Company. The small whole, too, of these roads, railways, and telegraphs is the outcome of the past twenty years, prior to which not a cubic yard of anything worth the name of a "public work" existed in the country, except in the rich ruins of the past. Yet we have seen how wide-spread and urgent are its needs for works of this kind. A sketch of the few in actual existence, and of the larger schemes projected, will have little attraction for amateurs of "light reading," but it may possibly interest the less numerous, though

still considerable, class who have a stake in the economical future of the country, and who care to know the stage of material development at present reached by what must henceforth be regarded as Turkey Proper.

Of the existing six hundred odd miles of constructed roadway, the caravan route between Trebizond and Erzeroum forms about a third, and is in other respects, both politically and commercially, the most important section of the whole. Having described the main features of the journey in a previous chapter, I need merely here again say that for more than two thousand years this route has formed the chief artery of communication between Europe and the interior of Asia. Over most of it the Ten Thousand made their famous march to the sea, and later the Romans, and, long after them, the Genoese carried over it their trade with Persia and India. Through it, too, nearly the whole traffic of Europe with the former country has in modern times been kept up, except during the short interval between 1822 and 1831, when the customs' exemptions granted by the Russian Government to its Transcaucasian provinces for a while attracted this trade to Redout-kalé, Tiflis, and the Caspian. In the latter year, however, the treaty of Adrianople opened the Black Sea to European ships, and these immunities *ipso facto* terminating, the traffic flowed back into its old and natural highway through Trebizond, Erzeroum, and Tabreez. The nearness

of this route to the Russian frontier—much increased by the results of the late war—gives it also a strategical importance far exceeding that of any other line of road in Anatolia. In every assault hitherto made by Russia on the Eastern frontier, this great track has served important purposes both of attack and defence. Yet, whether for trade or for war, it was only some dozen years ago that the Porte finally awoke to the necessity of converting what had, up till then, been a mere mountain track into a serviceable military road. The policy of improving the old bridlepath into a fairly passable caravan route had, indeed, been recognised so long before as 1852, when one Ismail Pasha—a fair specimen of the ante-Crimean functionary—had been entrusted with the work. But, after spending 10,000,000 piastres (nearly 92,000*l.*) and two years' time, he was recalled, leaving only some five miles of a narrow metalled causeway to show against this huge fraud on the Treasury. After remaining for ten years more at this stage, the completion of the work was entrusted to some French engineers, who added eight to Ismail's five miles, and were then perforce got rid of also for reasons of alleged gross abuse. Finally, in 1866, the Government resumed the enterprise with its own resources, and, with the aid of corvée labour supplied by villages along the line, completed the road as far as Erzeroum—a total distance, by the route followed, of nearly two hundred miles —by the end of 1872. From this point it was

intended to continue it, for military purposes, to Kars, one hundred and eight miles distant, and for the purposes of the Persian traffic, to Bayazid, one hundred and fifty miles off; but the cost of the work prevented either extension, and at Erzeroum accordingly the road, as a carriageable highway ends. Constructed as it thus has been almost entirely by native skill and labour, the work is of course very defective; but it is still an immense improvement on the old mule-track, and proved of the highest military value during the late war. Its commercial importance may be measured by the fact that, before the partial diversion effected by the Tiflis and Poti Railway, the estimated value of the transit trade carried over it averaged nearly 4,000,000*l.* a year, from which Anatolia derived, in one shape or other, an annual gain of more than 16,000,000 piastres (above 150,000*l.*). Fully a third of this has been diverted into the rival Russian channel, which may be expected to absorb a still larger share once the Poti line has been continued to Batoum, unless competing facilities of transport westwards can be offered within the new Turkish border.

Next nearest to this, a much less important section of made road along the coast connects Trebizond with Tireboli, a small port seventy-five miles westward of the former town. The constructive difficulties of this were trifling as compared with those of the Erzeroum route, as the track here followed winds through a succession of beautifully wooded

valleys and along the base of forest-clad hills, involving only inconsiderable cuttings, though with numerous bridges over the many streams that here enter the sea during the winter months. The country hereabouts being well cultivated for several miles inland, the road is of great local value as affording an outlet for produce at either of its terminal ports.

Westwards again of this, what was intended to be a military road to connect Samsoun with Sivas—a distance of 180 miles—was begun ten years ago by Reshid Pasha, but its history was the same as that of every other similar undertaking: malversation, mismanagement, and professional ignorance delayed and quintupled the proper cost of the work, which accordingly stopped short at Amasia, less than half the whole distance; and even the section thus far is now nearly as bad as the old track it superseded, while that beyond, to Sivas, remains pretty much as the Seljuks left it. A cheap railway over this route has long been projected, and will form one of the most important branches to any great trunk line that may be carried through the peninsula, but as far as Artova its engineering difficulties will be considerable. The whole district, of which Samsoun is the natural outlet—extending inland as far as Sivas, thence westwards to Angora, and back northwards to Sinope—is famed for its fertility; yet there is not at present throughout its entire area a single road worth the name, and over three-fourths of it, therefore, profitable

cultivation is, as elsewhere, out of the question. With roads, on the other hand, and some necessary works within its own harbour, Samsoun would rival Odessa as a grain port for Europe.

Thence on round the northern coast, not a single mile of artificial roadway exists—nor anywhere inland—till Ghemlek, on the Sea of Marmora, is reached, whence a once fairly metalled causeway of ten miles covers half the distance between that little port and Brousa. But for several years this has been in such neglected disrepair, that nearly all the traffic between the old Bithynian capital and the sea is carried over the longer track to Moudania, at the mouth of the same gulf.

Some four miles of a macadamised carriage-road, made at private cost, between Smyrna and its suburban village of Bournabat, is the only other bit of artificial highway worth the name in this great peninsula. What remains of the six hundred miles is found in Syria and Palestine. Here, between Beyrout and Damascus, a French company, in 1862, constructed the only piece of really *good* road in all these Eastern provinces. The distance between the old Syrian capital and its port is fifty-five miles, and over this a well-appointed omnibus service (for which the makers of the road have a monopoly with the right also of levying tolls) plies daily, making the journey in fifteen hours. Five years later, with a view to facilitate the transport of ore from the copper mines of Arghana, the beginning of

an attempt was made to convert the camel track between Birejik on the Euphrates—over which all the traffic with Mesopotamia passes—into a road, with an intended continuation to Alexandretta. The work was to be done by corvée labour and at the expense of the province itself, the Government merely furnishing the engineers. But after several months' time and a disproportionate sum of money had been spent on a few kilometres outside Aleppo, the undertaking was first suspended and then abandoned; and, barring these and the filling in of some of the worst ruts between Antioch and Beylan, the track remains (as I can personally testify) nearly as the Crusaders left it. Besides the French road to Damascus however, Rustem Pasha the governor of the Lebanon, has made a fair carriageable way, of nearly the same length, along the coast between Beyrout and Tripoli, and has also much improved what were formerly mere bridlepaths through the Druze and Maronite country. By courtesy, the track of thirty-eight miles between Jaffa and Jerusalem may also be called a road, the mountain path beyond Ramleh having within the past seven years been so widened and levelled as to render the journey over the whole now practicable in a day.[1] But nowhere else, from the Taurus to El-Arish, have pickaxe and shovel another league of serviceable work to show.

[1] But although the provincial treasury receives more than 70,000 piastres a year from tolls levied on this road, it has already been allowed to fall into such disrepair as to be now hardly passable for wheeled carriages.

Such is the poor total of artificially made highways in Turkey east of the Bosphorus. Within the past twenty years, scores of others have been at different times projected, and in 1865 a regular Road Board was created at the Porte to supervise the construction of a whole network over both halves of the empire. An imposing scheme was in due time forthcoming, but it was as duly pigeon-holed at the Ministry of Public Works, and not a mile of the whole has ever been made—another of the many illustrations of the native proverb supplied by the history of Turkish reforms, that "he who cuts out much, sews little together." More or less traversable tracks there are of course everywhere, beaten into line by mule and camel tread, and levelled at points along the three or four great trunk routes, so as to permit the passage of artillery between the larger towns. But it is only in summer that the majority of these are passable by laden animals and perhaps by buffalo-carts: during winter fathomless sloughs of mud close most of them to both.[1]

[1] In proof that this is not merely the language of an easy pessimism, I may quote a vizierial circular addressed on this subject to the provincial governors in October 1871 :—"If even these roads, of which they spoke so much in their reports to the central Government, were worthy of the name, we should regret neither the pecuniary sacrifice they entail, nor the praises and marks of approval which those who undertook their construction have contrived to obtain from the Sublime Porte and the press. But they are, for the most part, bad roads, which a single heavy fall of rain has in some districts sufficed to almost entirely destroy." This is as true still as it was seven years ago.

From this cause alone, the production of whole provinces is limited to local requirements, mining and other industries are commercially impossible, and exports are reduced almost to *nil.* Thus, to say nothing of the south-eastern districts—as round Mosul, for instance, where the best wheaten bread costs less than a halfpenny a pound—in the comparatively near-at-hand country round Angora and Sivas, grain is so abundant and cheap as to admit of export to Europe from Samsoun at a price far below that of Bessarabia, if the cost of transport to the latter port were not so high as to be virtually prohibitory. And so nearly everywhere else: though Aleppo again is only sixty miles from the sea, the carriage of ordinary merchandise from Alexandretta averages 6*l.* a ton, and that of wheat outwards 17*s.* a quarter, or double its cost price where grown. The result is, that the peasantry are impoverished and the State loses revenue all round. The Romans knew this, and ran paved arteries and veins through every new province that fell to their arms. We, the modern *Quirites*, have done the same in India and our colonies; and if Western Asia is to be recovered to civilisation and material prosperity, roads and railways must be among the first agents employed.

Of these last, only three—of altogether less than 270 miles—are as yet in operation, though nearly twenty-two years have passed since the first sod of the pioneer line was cut. When, after the Crimean

War, the vast material resources of Turkey attracted the notice of British capitalists, the productive wealth and commercial importance of the great pashalic of Smyrna suggested it as the most promising field for industrial experiment. Accordingly, an influential combination of railway promoters applied for a concession for a line from Smyrna to Aïdin, about eighty miles inland, and in September 1856 this was given to the late Sir Joseph Paxton and Messrs. Wythes, Jackson, and Nixon. The term of the grant was for fifty years, at the expiration of which it was to be extended for a further period of twenty-five years, in case the Porte should not avail itself of its reserved right of buying the line at the rate of 200,000*l.* for every 10,000*l.* of nett yearly revenue up to a maximum total of 200,000*l.*, the payment to be made in 6 per cent. Treasury bonds secured on the revenue of the railway; and on its side the company was bound to complete and open the road within four years. For some time previously, Sir Macdonald Stephenson had been busy with his grand idea of uniting Europe with India by a continuous line of railway communication, and as this Smyrna scheme promised to form a link in, or feeder to, the great chain, he was induced to join the company that was soon after formed to carry out the new undertaking—the first of its kind on Turkish soil—and through all the chequered portions of the enterprise, he continued to be its guiding head and his name its chief guarantee with the public, till his

resignation of the chairmanship in 1872. Nearly the whole of the first year after the grant of the concession was spent in forming the company, and in making the preliminary surveys. This done, the enterprise was launched with a nominal capital of 1,200,000*l.* in 20*l.* shares, on which the Porte guaranteed a dividend of 6 per cent., and the contract for the work was taken by Mr. Jackson for 1,080,000*l.* This latter price, however, proved to be only the first of a long series of over-sanguine estimates and of financial and engineering mistakes, which more than once brought the company to the verge of ruin, and the effects of which have not even yet altogether ceased to retard its full commercial success. Starting with only a small part of the capital paid up, the directors were forced to make frequent and heavy calls on their shareholders, and by the end of 1858 were already in difficulties, which were aggravated, a few months later, by the failure of their contractor. A successor to the latter, however, was found in Mr. Crampton, an *entrepreneur* of great energy and large resources. For some months a grave blunder in the original laying down of the line severely taxed both these qualifications of the new contractor, in an attempt to carry it through an almost impassable defile of the Saladeen mountain, which involved tunnelling of the heaviest and most costly kind. After much wasted outlay on this, the mistake was remedied by the diversion of the line into another and easier pass, suggested by Mr. Purser, the engineer

of the undertaking, but the negotiations with the Porte respecting this deviation involved much further loss of time, and it was not till the end of 1860 that the first section of twenty-seven miles, to Trianda, was opened. The Porte, however, then granted a three years' extension of the term for completing the line, with leave at the same time to issue 250,000*l.* of 6 per cent. debentures, repayable in five years. A year later thirteen miles more were opened, to Kosbounar; but for some time after this point was reached, financial and other difficulties led to nearly a suspension of the works, and it was not till September 1862 that the next short section of nine miles, to Ayasalook (Ephesus), was completed. Though the opening of the line thus far rendered the Government liable on its guarantee, and so put an end to payment of interest out of capital, it did not otherwise much improve the financial condition of the enterprise: the country traversed, being thinly populated, gave but little local traffic, while for the through transport, the managers, strange as it may sound, were till long afterwards beaten by the competing camel-drivers. The directors were, therefore, soon again at the end of their resources, and nearly of their concession, when the Porte consented to increase its guarantee from 72,000*l.* to 112,000*l.* a year, and so permit an augmentation of the capital from 1,200,000*l.* to 1,784,000*l.* As the whole of the original shares had not been placed, it was therefore decided to reduce the ordinary share capital to one-

half of this amount, and to issue the other moiety as debentures of 100*l.* each, redeeming with the proceeds of these latter the 250,000*l.* preference bonds already out. This was done, and such, therefore, is now the capital of the company, reduced only by the further redemption since then of 65,300*l.* of debentures. Thus recruited, both directors and contractor reapplied themselves to the enterprise with redoubled energy, and the remaining thirty-two miles, though weighted with two tunnels of respectively 3,200 and 800 feet through hard rock, were completed and the line opened throughout in June 1866. In addition to the trunk line, it was at an early stage of the undertaking intended to carry a branch of twenty-four miles, from Turbali up the Cayster valley to Tireh, with a subsequent extension to Odemish, but though both these districts have large industrious populations, and would afford considerable produce traffic with Smyrna, this idea, as also that of a short loop line to Baindir, a thriving town of 15,000 inhabitants, was perforce abandoned. Since then, however, the principal rivalry of the camel-drivers has been gradually overcome, and the four-footed competitors of a dozen years ago have become the best auxiliaries of the line by bringing down goods from, and carrying back others to, the interior beyond Aïdin, and by feeding the intermediate stations with the valonea, wool, madder roots, cotton, and the score of other materials for export which are so abundantly produced by the rich districts on either

side. Still an extension of the line much farther inland is essential to its complete commercial success; all the more that while the country beyond Aïdin up the Mæander valley offers few or no constructive difficulties, it forms one of the richest and most populous plains of Asia Minor. The company has, therefore, obtained from the Porte a concession for an extension of the main line to Serakeui, and the originally intended branch from Turbali to Tireh, —altogether a total farther length of eighty-seven miles, terminable at the same time as that for the original line, *i.e.* 1910. For this it surrenders, two years after the date of the new concession, 78,000*l.* of the 112,000*l.* per annum guaranteed for the line to Aïdin. The directors have decided that the work of the extensions shall be done by the company itself, and only *pari passu* with the payment of the guarantee already due and to become due from the Porte. This is, no doubt, a wise decision, but the progress of works depending on such a condition is not likely to be rapid; and for some years to come, therefore, Aïdin will probably continue to be the eastern limit of the line. In the meantime, the latest report of the company shows a gross revenue of 42,648*l.*—reduced by an expenditure of 24,410*l.* to a nett profit of 18,327*l.*—for the half-year ending June 30 last.

The story of the Smyrna and Cassaba line, next in order of time, but now of greater importance, may be more shortly told. While the section of country

through which the Aïdin road runs abounded twenty years ago in the undeveloped materials of a large and profitable traffic, that between Smyrna and Cassaba had already reached an advanced stage of such development, and needed only steam transport to stimulate its population to greater productive activity by affording a readier outlet for remunerative trade. It offered, too, exceptional constructive facilities, being generally level, and so involving few heavy cuttings and no tunnelling whatever, while it contains a network of rich villages and towns second to none in Asia Minor for commercial spirit and industrial prosperity. In 1862, therefore, another English combination applied for a concession to utilise these advantages, and the benefits which a well-managed railway would confer on the district being recognised by the Porte, a grant was obtained for ninety-nine years for a line to Cassaba and a short branch of three miles to Bournabat. The capital was fixed at 800,000*l.*, divided into 14,000 preferential and 26,000 ordinary shares of 20*l.* each, on which the Porte guaranteed 40,000*l.* a year. Surveys of the line having been made by Mr. Austin, the company's chief engineer, and the best route decided upon, the contract to construct and stock the whole by the end of 1866, and to pay 7 per cent. till then on the paid-up capital, was taken by the late Mr. Price for 760,000*l.*, and the work was energetically begun in April 1864. Starting from a fine central site in Smyrna, the line runs first through the gardens of the suburbs, and

then, after sending off its branch to Bournabat, trends round by the shore of the bay to Cordeilho, its first passenger station. Beyond this, it crosses the fine alluvial plain of the river Guediz (Hermus), and, after skirting for some miles a chain of hill sides, dotted with prosperous villages, winds round the base of a mountain ridge to the large and thriving town of Menemen, built on the site of the ancient Temnos. Under the collective name of Berghamo, a number of prosperous villages, scattered over the neighbouring valley of the Bakir-chai (Caïcus), perpetuate the name of classic Pergamus, which flourished hereabouts. The gardens of Menemen are renowned for their fruit, and the hill above the railway station is brisk with windmills turning into flour the produce of wide breadths of cornland in the surrounding district. Combined with the facility of access afforded by the line, the picturesque beauty of the scenery round it has, for some years past, made the town a favourite summer resort of the Smyrniotes. Past this, the line winds through a narrow gorge, whose cliffs of amphibolic schist occasioned almost the only engineering difficulties of the work, and then, entering the fine expanse of cornland and vineyard known as the Valley of Magnesia, reaches the populous town of that name, nestling at the foot of Mount Sypilus, twenty-two miles from Smyrna. The valley here is twelve miles wide and, barring only the gravelly slopes washed by the winter torrents from the mountains aud some low pasture land bordering the

rivers that run through it, the whole is under cultivation, and yields abundant crops of wheat, barley, madder, cotton, and melons. The produce of the towns of Somma, Kirkagatch and Akhissar (Thyatira) also here converges *en route* to Smyrna, and now forms a valuable element of traffic for the line. Beyond Magnesia the iron road runs close past the rocky mountain on the face of which the colossal bust of Niobe still weeps "over the sorrow the gods have sent upon her,"[1] and then, crossing the Nymphé, reaches its first terminal point at Cassaba—thirty-three miles by camel track over the mountain, but fifty-eight by rail, from Smyrna. To this the line was completed and opened early in 1866. Situated in the centre of a very productive district, Cassaba is a commercially active town of some 15,000 inhabitants, of whom two-thirds are Mussulmans and the remainder mostly Greeks. To this total the population of the immediately adjacent villages adds another 10,000, nearly all Turks. A dozen years ago Cassaba was one of the last great halting-places of the camels, which, till then, enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade of the northern and eastern

[1] I have visited this spot, and can testify that the appearance of "tears" flowing from the eyes of the figure—which, according to the Homeric legend, was the work of Zeus himself, or, to another tradition, was chiselled by Broteas, the son of Tantalus, and brother therefore of the child-reft mother—down over its breast and thence to its base, is most realistic. It results from the water of a very weak spring trickling from a rocky ledge overhead.

interior of Asia Minor to Smyrna and the neighbouring seaboard; but after nearly a couple of years' competition similar to that encountered on the Aïdin route, the *devédjees* were practically beaten off the road, and have since for the most part been content to act as feeders to, rather than rivals of, the railroad. Still, up to this point the traffic receipts of the line fell greatly below the sanguine estimates of its projectors; and six years' experience demonstrated that, if it was to become at all a commercial success, it must be extended to Aleshehr (Philadelphia), at the head of the rich valleys it had now entered, and eventually to Ouchak, one of the principal inland emporia of trade in the peninsula. Accordingly, after lengthened negotiation with the Porte, a concession for the continuation of the line to Aleshehr was obtained in November 1872, but on terms which can hardly be considered advantageous to the company. The Government undertook to make the extension at its own cost; and, in consideration of a free lease of this for sixteen years from its completion in 1875, the company, on its side, agreed to cancel its old concessions, to accept Treasury bills (since only in part paid) in satisfaction of its arrear dividend and other claims, and to surrender, in 1891, the whole line to the Government without any further payment whatever.[1] The expectation at the time no doubt

[1] In the meantime, during the remainder of the company's tenure of the whole line, the nett revenue is to be devoted (1) to the payment of 7 per cent. interest on 210,000*l.* debenture

was that the company would obtain the profitable contract for making the extension, but in this it was disappointed, and the contract given instead to Mr. Bayliss, who negotiated the new grant and had locally represented Mr. Price during the construction of the original section to Cassaba. The forty-six miles between the latter town and Aleshehr traverse a fine undulating country still in the valley of the Hermus, offering no engineering difficulties whatever, and rich throughout in both industrial and antiquarian interest. About half-way the ruins of Sardis, with its "thousand and one" mound-tombs of the Lydian kings, are passed, and beyond these the fine valley of the once golden Pactolus is crossed, stretching northwards to Adala and east to Aleshehr. This last is a thriving town prettily situated on the southern slope of the valley, and, with its surrounding villages, reckons a population of nearly 50,000 inhabitants. Here, for the present, this important line stops. Its manifest destiny, however, is to be carried eighty miles farther to Ouchak, on which nearly all the traffic of the surrounding districts converges, and to the whole of which, therefore, and the railway itself, this further extension is alike necessary.

bonds, (2) to a similar payment on 125,000*l.* preference shares, (3) to payment of 2½ per cent. on 393,740*l.* ordinary shares, and (4) to the redemption of the debentures and preference shares. What, if anything, remains will be applied to the redemption of the ordinary stock. The amount of this "net revenue" for the half-year ending June 30 last was 29,253*l.*

The third line in operation is that from Scutari, opposite Constantinople, to Ismid (Nicomedia), at the head of the gulf of that name, sixty miles from the Bosphorus. This undertaking was one of the many bootless outcomes of Abdul Aziz's visit to Europe in 1869. One of this plentiful crop of crazes was to construct forthwith a network of carriageable roads and railways — such as he had travelled over in England, France, and Germany—over both Roumelia and Anatolia: and to this end a shower of *hâtts* rained on the Porte from the Palace for some time after his return. A'ali Pasha well knew that such works were not to be accomplished by mere strokes of the Sultan's *kalem*, and, in lack of the necessary means to carry them out, merely addressed a few saving circulars to the provincial authorities belauding his Majesty's enlightened zeal for the national progress. At the same time, as a sop to the imperial whim, he consented to sanction the making of a short railway from the Bosphorus to Ismid, "as a *tête de ligne* of the great projected railway from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf," and to humour the Sultan's notion that the Porte could do the work itself without the aid of either foreign money or engineering, the Ministry of Public Works was ordered to make it with its own resources. The result, it need hardly be said, was a very costly and blundering "job." The Tidjaret supplied the engineering, and the contract for the labour and material was given to some Galata amateurs at an impossibly low

(nominal) price per metre, which clever measurements converted into an exorbitant profit. On this basis the line was begun in August 1871 and finished in November of the following year. With some very bad curves, several cuttings of more than eighty feet deep, and much doubtful masonry, it skirts the north-eastern coast of the Marmora from the plain of Haidar Pasha to Touzleh, and runs thence across the promontory to Guebizeh (the death-place of Hannibal), and so close along the shore of the gulf to Ismid. As no statement of the cost of this work was published, I am unable on this point to say more than that at the time it was locally believed to have been much the dearest, as it was the worst, piece of iron road laid down on either side of the Bosphorus. Commercially it has thus far been a failure, as while neither the passenger nor goods traffic between Ismid and the capital is yet great, both are far more cheaply and directly served by the steamers that ply daily to and from the Golden Horn. Still it is undoubtedly a first link in the great chain that is to unite Bussorah or the Persian frontier with the Bosphorus, and has therefore both a material and a sentimental value. The intention, when it was begun, was to continue the line after a while to Eski-Shehr, and thence ultimately to Angora, with a branch from Eski-Shehr to Kutaya; but lack of funds stopped the work at the end of its first section, and beyond this it is not likely to go till foreign capital takes it up, and realizes on

a sounder foundation than the Porte itself can ever lay, the dream of poor brutal but well-meaning Abdul Aziz.

Apparently satisfied, however, with the result of this maiden effort at railway making on its own account, the Porte, some months after its completion, began another short line of twenty miles from Moudania, on the Marmora, to Brousa. The evil precedent of the Ismid job was here again followed, but with even worse results. The road was made, but no stations were built, and the masonry of the bridges was so bad that several of them were washed away by the first winter freshets, as were also long patches of the main way. None of these dilapidations were repaired, and though the line was pronounced "finished" in October 1874, it has not yet been opened. A portion of the necessary rolling stock was placed on it, but this now lies rusting and rotting at the two termini and some other points along the road. Yet, considering the industrial activity of Brousa, and the teeming fertility of the country for many miles round it—with no access to the sea except over the old natural track to Moudania, and the still worse (though half artificial) route to Ghemlek at the head of the gulf—nowhere in the peninsula could a short and cheaply constructed line have better met an urgent local want.[1]

[1] An English contractor has, I learn, recently offered to complete and put this line into working order for 75,000*l.* to be paid by a free lease of it for twenty-nine years. The offer is said to

Not reckoning this inchoate and dilapidated twenty miles from the Marmora to Brousa, the railways of Asia Minor, outside which the locomotive whistle has not yet been heard, are limited to these three short, Aïdin, Aleshehr, and Ismid lines, which less than tap the traffic wealth of the peninsula, to say nothing of the provinces farther east and south. Of the accomplished works, the Smyrna quay is, as I have said, the only one of its kind on any scale in the empire; and this, like the two railways from the same port, was entirely the outcome of foreign enterprise and capital. Up till 1867, the whole shipments and unshipments of this great harbour were made by lighters, entailing much inconvenience and heavy cost on the local trade. Although deriving from it a large customs' revenue, the Porte did nothing to remove these drawbacks till in that year a local combination applied for a concession to construct a quay along the sea-front of the town, from the Aïdin railway station to the barracks at the southern corner of the bay. After as much difficulty as if some heavy grant were being asked from the Treasury, this was at length given—on terms eminently favourable to the Porte itself. The grant was for thirty years, at the end of which the work lapsed to the State, which was also in the meantime to receive 12 per cent. of the gross income levied in

have been favourably received by the Porte, and there is therefore a prospect of this much-needed work becoming at length utilised.

landing tolls by the company, besides full stamp and other taxes on all the land reclaimed from the sea by filling in the foreshore. The concessionaires failed to form a substantial company to carry out the enterprise, which, after some delay, was at length taken over by the actual contractors for the work, Messrs. Dussaud Frères, of Marseilles, the eminent firm which was at the same time engaged on the greater harbour works of Suez and Port Saïd. By them the work has since been finished, and the largest Liverpool steamers can now ship and discharge cargo alongside as fine a quay frontage as any in the Mediterranean. But other harbour works than this there are none from the Euxine to the Arabian Sea.

In the midst of its diplomatic, military, and financial difficulties, the Porte still found time, some months ago, to frame a scheme of public works for this greater half of the empire, including a complete system of trunk and communal roads, a network of main and branch railways, and an aggregate of harbour and irrigation works worthy of our own Indian Government in its fiscally richest year.[1] Besides extensions of the existing lines respectively to Konia, Afioum-Karahissar, Angora, and Bilejik, this embraces a great vertebral line from the Bosphorus to Adana, and thence through North Syria and the Euphrates Valley to Baghdad, with a branch continuation from Aubar, opposite the latter city, to Koweit on the Gulf; another line from Samsoun

[1] See the map.

by Sivas to Diarbekir, and thence, crossing the great trunk line at Aleppo, down through Eastern Syria to join the Egyptian system at Cairo; another from Erzeroum by Sivas and Kaisarieh to join the main line at Eregli; or in all more than 4,500 miles of iron road, with further projected links and extensions to the Persian border at Bayazid, Sulemanieh, and Baksu, of nearly 550 miles more. The scheme also includes more than 2,000 miles of first-class carriageable roads, with an indefinite length of communal *chaussées* to join these, and no fewer than seventeen harbour works of various magnitude; besides canals to irrigate more than 18,000,000 acres of arable ground, and the drainage of nearly 4,000,000 acres of marsh land at various points in Asia Minor and Syria, but chiefly below Baghdad. The likelihood of so colossal a project, or any considerable part of it, being carried out by the Porte itself need not be seriously considered; but the official admission that such works are needed shows how wide is the field for private enterprise, if this can be but adequately safe-guarded. The only thing yet done has been to invite a contract for draining nearly 100,000 acres of marsh land in the great plain of Brousa, which less than forty years ago bloomed with crop, but which, through neglect of the water channels, have since been allowed to sink into a vast fever-breeding swamp. The terms offered are—the free grant in perpetuity of 16,000 acres belonging to the State, and payment by the private owners of the

remainder, or, in default, forfeiture of the reclaimed land to the contractor. If the conditions of tenure by foreigners were quite safe the enterprise would be a profitable one, for the work of drainage would be easy, and the recovered land of exceptional value. But until Turkish law is better administered, its pitfalls in matter of title to reality are too numerous and deep to be safely risked by alien investors in any form. As yet, therefore, only the idea of railways has seriously attracted foreign attention; and for a great trunk line that should form, so to speak, the backbone of these, three competing projects have been influentially mooted. In one of these the Euphrates Valley line, so long and energetically advocated by the late General Chesney, Mr. W. P. Andrew and Sir John M'Neill, has been merged, and to it therefore I need only incidentally allude.

The three schemes for this great arterial line are those respectively sponsored by Sir Macdonald Stephenson, the Duke of Sutherland, and General Klapka acting for an Austro-Hungarian combination. Of the details of this last I know nothing, but having travelled over much of the country proposed to be traversed by the other two, I am able to state the main features of both with some *connaissance de cause.* Of the two, that of Sir M. Stephenson ranks first in order of time and magnitude. So long ago as 1838, when railway enterprise was in its infancy even in England, the projector of this undertaking fore-

saw the revolutionary effect of the new agent upon international communication, and, a year or two later, when the success of the Peninsular and Oriental Company showed how vast and rapid was the development in store for our trade with India by the shortest route, he conceived the idea of further reducing the distance between the Thames and the Hooghly as much by the application of the new system of land transit as the Peninsular and Oriental Company had already in effect shortened the old voyage round the Cape. In fact, while lines of 100 miles' length were still thought colossal enterprises in the Midland Counties, he imagined an iron chain between London and Calcutta, broken only at Dover, for he proposed also to realise the dream of Michael Angelo and throw a bridge across the Bosphorus. The scheme at the time was thought nearly as wild as Shakespeare's prophetic fancy, since realised, of a girdle round the earth. Its very vastness discouraged examination of its bases, and for some time it was regarded as a full century ahead of political, commercial, and even engineering possibility. The rapid extension, however, of railways on the Continent gradually brought the project within the pale of respectful discussion, and so far back as 1850 its author received from the Porte the assurance that "the co-operation of the Imperial Government would be readily and heartily accorded to so useful and important an enterprise." In the meantime, too, the spread of railroads from Lahore

to Calcutta, and thence to Madras, Bombay, and Kurachee was fast bringing Western Asia and Europe into comparative proximity to all parts of India, and so accomplishing one great section of the scheme; while their continued extension in Europe was similarly annihilating distance between Calais and Constantinople, east of which there would then remain only some 1,300 miles to be bridged over by an iron road to the Persian Gulf, to realise Sir Macdonald's conception in its less complete form, or, to accomplish it altogether, about 1,100 miles more by continuing the line from Bussora through Southern Persia and Beloochistan to the Indus. Since then the great western section from Calais to Stamboul has also been practically completed, as—barring one link through Servia, which another year or two will doubtless see supplied—the locomotive now traverses Europe from the Straits to the Golden Horn. At the same time, further study of the conditions of this problem and a paramount regard for the imperial, rather than the mere commercial, importance of the line, have induced Sir Macdonald to modify his first itinerary and project a considerably shorter route than that contemplated by his original scheme. This latter proposed to run from Scutari by Ismid, Kutaya, Afioun-Karahissar, Konia, Ak-Serai, Yeni-Shehr, and Kaisarieh to Aleppo, and thence down the Euphrates Valley to Bussora, with subsequent continuation to Bunder Abbas, and so along the Mekran coast to Kurachee and Hyderabad. Later

exploration, however, having shown that the engineering difficulties of such an extension would be commercially insuperable, Sir Macdonald now advocates, and has proposed to the Porte as the main artery of a whole system of railways for Asia Minor and Chaldæa, a much more direct line, running from Ismid to Angora, Sivas, Kharpout, Van, and into Persia at Kotour, through Khoï and Tabreez to Teheran, and thence by Meshed, Herat, and Candahar, through the Bolan Pass to Sukkur—a total distance from the Bosphorus to the Punjaub of about 3,000 miles, of which 920 would be through Turkish territory. In point of distance, and therefore of time, this is much the shortest line of communication between England and India. Its Turkish section has also the advantage of traversing a nowhere very difficult, and everywhere fertile and populous, line of country, though leaving at many points the established traffic routes, with which, however, the proposed lateral feeders would almost everywhere connect it. Up to the Persian frontier its prospects of local traffic—on which almost every railway must in the main depend—would therefore be good. East of that, beyond Teheran, I am unable to speak with any first-hand knowledge, but it may be fairly assumed that thence on to the Indus neither local goods nor passengers would, for some years at least, contribute much to the earnings of the line. Nor is this the only or the gravest flaw in the scheme which an adverse critic might suggest. Sir M. Stephenson is so high an

authority on both Turkish and Indian railways, that it is with diffidence I venture to question the soundness of any part of a project of this kind to which he stands sponsor; but it needs no expert either in politics or engineering to see that the long section of this line from Kotour, or at all events from Teheran, to the Bolan will differ widely in its political as well as commercial conditions from those of its shorter third through Turkey. While the whole of the latter will run through a friendly, fertile, and comparatively populous country—teeming with resources that need only outlets to develop into national wealth—the former will not merely traverse thinly peopled or wholly desert tracts for almost half its length, but will be at the mercy of Russia or its virtual vassals throughout. Of course, if as a result of the present conflict with Shere Ali we annex Afghanistan, the line would then be safe enough beyond Herat; but, unless we also obeyed "manifest destiny," and extended our protectorate over Persia as well, the same element of unsafety would still attach to the long link from the Afghan border to Kotour.

Still, although this great through road to India forms the chief feature of Sir Macdonald's scheme, neither the value of this last to Turkey, nor its commercial prospects, depend on either the political or economical soundness of the project east of the Turkish frontier. Besides this high-speed trunk line, his proposed system includes no fewer than twelve

low-speed local lines, either branching from or at some point communicating with the main route, and amounting in all to more than 2,300 miles. These would be cheaply made lines, and of considerably narrower gauge than the established 4 feet 8½ inches, and, themselves fed by a network of communal roads, would in time feed the arterial line to the Bosphorus, on which the great stream of traffic from the eastern, southern, and central provinces would mainly be directed. One of these, too, would in part remedy what I have ventured to consider the defect in the Perso-Afghan section of the great through line. Leaving the latter at Kharpout, and running thence through Diarbekir, Mardin, Nisibin, and Mosul, to Baghdad, this would not merely serve an important line of country, but, either by steamers down the Tigris, or by continuation to Bussorah or Koweit, would, in the event of an interruption on the trunk line east of Kotour, keep up communication through the Gulf with Kurachee.

Besides supplying railway communication to all parts of the country, this scheme of Sir Macdonald Stephenson has the merit of asking for no guarantee from either our own or the Turkish Government. I say "merit," not that I at all question the fair claim of any enterprise of this importance to special support; but one that dispenses with such a bounty, and stipulates for only what the Porte itself can readily give, has *pro tanto* an advantage over any other of which extraneous aid is a condition. In this case the

company to be formed to carry out the enterprise would merely ask for the usual grant of land for the lines, and for free soldier or peasant labour, as is now customary on native public works, the company supplying supervision, instruction, and all necessary tools, as also a gratuity to the hands employed. This system of *angaria*, or statute labour, is of immemorial usage all over the country; and when fairly applied for purposes of local usefulness, is seldom or never objected to by the villagers, just as a similar labour-tax is willingly paid by the Egyptian fellahs for the making and repair of the Nile banks and irrigating canals. In Turkey, when required, it averages about seven days' work—often commuted for a money equivalent—for each adult male of a district per annum, an exaction that cannot be called oppressive. Such a contribution of labour, while costing nothing to the Porte, would be as good as money to the company, and so reduce the capital cost of the scheme to practicable limits.[1] But here again this advantage would not affect the trunk line east of Kotour, the 2,000 miles beyond which must therefore, for financial as

[1] The value of such labour may, perhaps, be approximately estimated from a calculation submitted to the Porte a few years ago by one of its own engineers in a scheme for the making of railways on a large scale with purely native resources. In this it was carefully reckoned that a total of say 30,000 troops thus employed would in a year make 5,821,125 cubic metres of earthwork, equal to a single-line railway 674 kilometres long, and worth in money value 59,375,475 frs. (=2,375,015*l.*) Deducting from this 17,421,779 frs. for general expenses and the men's working dress (the whole or greater part of which would in this

well as political reasons, remain for some years yet *en état de projet.* The scheme, however, proposes to do quite enough within and for Turkey to give it strong claims on the favourable consideration of the Porte.

The rival project promoted by the Duke of Sutherland is less ambitious, but begins by asking for "a moderate guarantee" on a capital of 20,000,000*l.* from our own Government. It proposes to construct a trunk line from Scutari to the Persian Gulf, following, as far as Kharpout, the same route as that of Sir M. Stephenson, but at the latter town curving southwards to Diarbekir—as he also does, but with a low-speed branch—and running thence down the Tigris valley to Mosul along the right bank of the river to Baghdad and Koweit, a total distance of 1,800 miles. From the adhesion of Mr. W. P. Andrew to this scheme it may be inferred that the long advocated line by the Euphrates has been abandoned; and if so, Mr. Andrew may be congratulated on his conversion to sounder views, for no one who knows the country can doubt the superiority, from every point of view except shortness, of the Tigris over the Euphrates

case probably be borne by the company), the author of the scheme showed a net profit—or saving of wages—of 41,953,696 frs. (1,678,147*l.*) as the result. Whatever may be the exact value of this calculation, it is at least evident that such a contribution —whether given wholly in military, or part in peasant, labour—would form a valuable subsidy to the Company, at a trifling or no actual cost to the Government, and with immense benefit to the country.

Valley for such an undertaking. In the one case, for three-fourths of the distance you traverse practically a desert; in the other, especially with a projected branch line from Mardin to Alexandretta, you run continuously along the established trade route and through a well-peopled and cultivated line of country, already rich in the elements of a remunerative traffic. As far, therefore, as Kharpout, the two schemes are competitors for the same concession, with the difference only that the one asks for labour help but no money from the Porte, while the other seeks nothing except the necessary land from the Turkish Government, but asks from our own a practical subsidy of two or three per cent. on the capital spent on the work. From the Bosphorus to their point of separation, the two projects would consequently be dependent on the same field of traffic, except that the system of low-speed feeders contemplated by Sir M. Stephenson would, as gradually realised, give his line a clear advantage over the merely through and immediately local traffic of the other. But beyond Kharpout, the Tigris Valley line would, I believe, be at once more remunerative and more locally useful than any line ending at Kotour or even at Teheran. The latter might no doubt hope to attract the large Perso-European traffic which has hitherto passed through Bayazid and Erzeroum to Trebizond, but that would probably be more than balanced by the Indian mails and the proportion of goods and passengers adopting the Gulf route. Once below Mardin,

too, the southern line would have great constructive advantages over its eastern rival, as the country traversed is nearly as level as a bowling green throughout; while the other, except in the plain of and for a short way beyond Van, would involve much heavy work. At the same time the whole of these advantages would attach equally to Sir Macdonald's proposed southern branch, also from Kharpout, with the sole difference that this—as at present contemplated—would be of lower speed and narrower gauge than the ducal line, which, considering the importance of this Tigris route as an alternative road to India and the steady development in the trade below Baghdad, is, I think, a mistake. But the class of this line in Sir Macdonald's system no doubt admits of reconsideration, and its promotion to full-gauge and high-speed rank is, therefore, still practicable. In the meantime, her Majesty's Government has declined to give the guarantee asked for the Stafford House scheme: feeling, probably, that the other responsibilities of our new relation to these trans-Bosphorus provinces are contingently heavy enough as it is, without being increased by the payment of an annual bounty of 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* for the next generation at least; since, assuredly, no Turco-Asian railways involving a capital outlay of 20,000,000*l.* will pay a dividend within the lifetime of the present. As, however, British support to this extent was the fundamental condition of the ducal enterprise, the refusal of it must retard, if it do not altogether

prevent, the carrying out of this particular scheme. The Foreign Office, indeed, is understood to have promised the Duke's Committee its aid in any other way it can be given; which may be taken to mean that Sir H. Layard will be instructed to support his Grace as against Sir M. Stephenson at the Porte. But though this may, perhaps, avail to obtain the concession, the grant will be of questionable value unless backed by either a British guarantee or by some such other help from the Turkish Government as that for which Sir Macdonald asks. Rivalry at all between two such schemes and the combinations promoting them is to be regretted; and in the interest of both, as of the Porte itself, an amalgamation would obviously be the wisest policy. If this, however, should not be found practicable, either project has merits enough to make its accomplishment an immense boon to the country. A mere trunk line of railway would do this, but when supplemented by branches tapping all the great producing districts and trade centres, the gain to every interest, from that of the peasant to the middle man, the exporting merchant, and the Treasury itself, cannot easily be expressed.

Of roads I need say nothing more than that they are even more necessary than railways; while of harbours, all is said in repeating that, except the quay at Smyrna, there is hardly a jetty worth the name between Trebizond and the Gulf of Aden. So too as to canals; of these not a mile exists anywhere

except in the three or four channels still serviceable out of the splendid network that anciently drained and irrigated all Babylonia. The Isa (or Saklawiyah), the Khalis, the Sherw'n, and one or two others which are navigable for boats of light draught during the flood season are now all that remain—except in ruins—of a system once as complete and nearly as extensive as that of Egypt. The result is, that above Baghdad many thousand acres of the richest land have been thrown out of cultivation for want of water, while below it still vaster tracts have been converted by the overflow of the Euphrates into swamp and lagoon. The supply of water to the one and the drainage of the other would involve no engineering difficulties, and consequently only moderate outlay; but of either, there is little more prospect now than when the fourth Murad won the province from the Persians two and a half centuries ago. The Porte may *project* great drainage and other works, but it has neither the means nor the energy to carry them out.

In respect, therefore, of public works of every class, English enterprise and capital have in these Asiatic provinces a vast and nearly virgin field for their employment—roads, railways, and harbours to be made, marshes to be drained, rivers to be rendered navigable, and myriads of fertile acres to be reclaimed to fruitfulness by irrigation. But the caution cannot be too often repeated that, before a shilling may be safely adventured on any one of these,

the reform of administrative abuses which now paralyse the industrial activity of the country and place invested capital at the mercy of corrupt officials, must have advanced much beyond the illusory stage at which the latest news leaves it.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Great backwardness—But Islâm and Turks not opposed to learning —Culture during the Caliphates—The Abbé Boré on Turkish education—School system fairly complete, but results defeated by official apathy — Primary schools in fourteenth century — Mosque colleges in Constantinople after conquest—Their multiplication, and present statistics—Commissions appointed to report on gap between them and primary schools—The result—Reshid Pasha's University — Compulsory attendance at the *mektebs*— Improvement in their teaching—Number of this class of schools —Creation of secondary schools—Their course of instruction— Reform of the *medressèhs*—The "special schools"—The medical, military, and naval colleges—The Pera Lyceum—Its failure— Defect of whole system that it does not supply education for females — Social influence of women in Turkey, and necessity of their intellectual elevation—The Rayah denominational systems —The Greeks most advanced, still very defective—The Armenian schools—The Jews very backward—Rayah education, however, greatly supplemented by missionary and other foreign help— Great success of the American agents—Robert College and the Bulgarians—Syria, thus over-schooled—General result that the Rayahs are distancing the Moslem population.

FROM a Western point of view, national education in Turkey is nearly as backward as its public works. It is but fair, however, to say at once that the fact in no way supports either of two popular fallacies which still survive on this subject; namely, that

Islâm as a religion is opposed to intellectual culture, and that among its professors the Turks especially undervalue and discourage learning. The first, it need hardly be said, is historically refuted by the brilliant eras of the Caliphates, during which, while Christian Europe was sunk in ignorance and barbarism, both literature and art attained in the East and in Moorish Spain a development that in the West has been equalled only in quite modern times: poetry, science, and architecture all flourishing on the Tigris, the Nile, and the Guadalquivir, when on the Seine and the Thames only the clergy could read and write. The second is equally disproved by the fact that, although this Augustan age of their common faith is to be credited to the Arabs rather than to the Ottomans, yet for nearly 500 years the latter have maintained a system of national instruction which, in at least its elementary results, would compare not unfavourably with those of England and France a generation ago. Nowhere, indeed, is learning held in higher esteem or its professors more respected than in Turkey; but the Eastern idea of education, as of much else, differs widely from our own; and hence doubtless much of the difference both in method and outcome of the system to be now briefly described.

It is true (says the Abbé Boré) that the Turks are ignorant of many things which our children learn at school—history, geography, the classical languages, and the natural sciences. Of these they have hitherto known and cared to know but little: but this does not prevent their having their own peculiar branches

of learning, and most assuredly they employ in study more time than ever we ourselves devote to it. If their knowledge be not equally extensive, it is because they are persuaded that the Koran contains the Alpha and the Omega of human science, and that the knowledge it imparts is all-sufficient. For this reason no Mussulman is unacquainted with the essential doctrines of his religion, its sacred traditions, the acts of the Prophet, the rites and observances imposed by the duties of prayer, of ablutions, of almsgiving and pilgrimage. The proportion of the people, too, who can read is very considerable, notwithstanding that the difficulties of mastering that art presented by the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages are infinitely greater than any offered by our own. It is the same with the art of writing, which is divided into a multitude of branches, each employed for a special purpose. We need not, therefore, wonder that the title of *ouquomoueth* (scholar) should be bestowed on one who is able to read and write fluently; nor that it should, among the Turks and other Orientals, exalt its possessor to the dignity of a literary character.

In fact, for popular instruction as for government, Turkey possesses a fairly complete and suitable machinery; but in the one as in the other, official apathy and abuse defeat what should be the proper result.

National education, as a system, dates back in Turkish annals long before the conquest of Constantinople. As early as the reign of Orchan (1326-60) we find mention of *mektebs*, or primary schools—founded first by the Government and subsequently increased by private bequests—at Brousa, then the chief capital of the empire, and shortly afterwards at Adrianople, when the rising Ottoman power established itself in Europe. It was not, however, till the final fall of the Lower Empire, nearly a century later

—that provision was made for a higher class of instruction by the Conqueror's converting eight of the principal Christian churches of Constantinople into first-class mosques, and attaching to each of these a *medressèh* (college) to meet this want. During the next hundred years these upper schools were greatly multiplied in both the capital and the provinces; and since then private piety and munificence have made further large additions to their number, till at present Constantinople has nearly three hundred, and many of the chief provincial towns thirty, forty, and even fifty. But one great drawback on the value of the system thus created was that the control of it was entirely in the hands of the Ulema, who so managed it that the education given was restricted to the narrowest circle of religious and literary subjects, and, instead of preparing its pupils for active secular life, dwarfed both their views and their knowledge to the standard of the fanatic *softa*, whose special ambition was to become a cadi or an imaum. Its other obvious defect was, that it left a great gap between the rudimentary instruction of the *mektebs* and the so-called higher teaching of the *medressèks*. At length, in 1845, the Porte awoke to the necessity for such a reform as should not only educationally improve, but at the same time secularise, the whole system, and so transfer from the Ulema to the State the influence which its control carried with it. In that year a Commission was accordingly appointed to investigate the subject, and devise such changes as

the modern wants of the country required. After more than a year it reported, advising (1) that the whole public education of the empire should be reorganised on the enlarged basis (*a*) of primary instruction, the chief elements of which were already provided by the *mektebs*, (*b*) of secondary or intermediate instruction, which required to be created, and (*c*) of the higher instruction of the *medressèhs*, which should be remodelled and extended as liberally as existing privileges and prejudices permitted; (2) that the new University proposed by Reshid Pasha should be founded and made a State institution; and (3) that a Council of Public Instruction should be created, to which should be transferred the powers of general control over the whole previously exercised by the Ulema over the *mektebs* and *medressèhs*. These recommendations of the Commission were adopted by the Government, and three imperial decrees shortly afterwards converted them into law. The new Council was formed mostly of the members of the Commission, and a few weeks later the first stone of the University building was laid with great pomp by Sultan Abdul Medjid, under the shadow of St. Sophia, on the site of the old barrack of the Janissaries, as if to mark—as a French literary partisan of Reshid Pasha soon after wrote—"still more forcibly by the very choice of the locality the separation between the old and the reformed *régime*." How little this institution has yet, after the lapse of more than thirty years, contributed to make

this "separation" more than an idea, will be seen farther on.

The system of instruction found in operation by the new Council was very defective, not merely in practice but in theory. The primary schools supplied all over the empire almost gratuitous instruction —the fee being the nominal one of 2 piastres a month—in the principles of morality and religion; but beyond this and the reading of the Koran their teaching did not generally go. They were, indeed, attended by the large majority of the Mussulman population; and meagre as was their course of instruction, it was at least as good as that supplied by the contemporary Christian schools of the country. This, however, was but feeble merit, and the Council therefore proceeded to make such improvements as were practicable, and as the wants of the classes they were chiefly designed for required. Reform to this extent was easy enough: nearly all that was needed was to give the *mektebs* a uniform organisation, to introduce some changes in the method and matter of their teaching, and to apply the principle of State supervision in its fullest extent. With this view, primary instruction was declared compulsory and gratuitous throughout the empire. A special law—still in force—made it obligatory on the fathers of all Mussulman families to inscribe the names of their children of both sexes on the registers of the *mektebs* (of which, I should have said, one exists in every *mahallé*, or parish) as soon as they reached the age

of six years, unless they could give satisfactory proof of their ability and intention to educate them at home. That this obligation should not be evaded, the same law required all masters taking apprentices to receive with them certificates of attendance on the *mektebs* of their districts—a provision which, whatever may be its practical value, is seldom or never disregarded.[1] The fee of 2 piastres a month was at the same time abolished, and provision made instead for a fixed salary to the teacher out of the foundation revenues of the school, the Government engaging to make up the amount in the few cases in which this last might be insufficient. As to the actual course of instruction, this was little more than restored to its old but long forsaken basis of—reading, writing, orthography, elementary arithmetic, the reading of the Koran, and the general principles of religion; and to secure, or rather to render possible, positive instruction in these subjects, rudimentary books in each were drawn up in the common

[1] The result is that about ninety per cent. of the Mussulman children attend these schools. The little ones of rich and poor mingle in them on an equal footing, and in the case of the former the first day of going to school is a family *fête*. The little novice, his fez ornamented with gold coins or his mother's diamonds, is escorted in triumph by his future companions from his home to the school, and the juvenile procession—one of the prettiest sights of the capital or of a large provincial town—is regarded by the spectators with affectionate interest. A Pasha's son is generally attended in the school by a black slave boy of his own age, who shares at the same time in the instruction given to the young Bey in, if nothing more, the rudiments of the native tongue and docile manners.

dialect, and ordered to be used in all schools of this class. This was a valuable improvement, but much of its good effect has been lost by subsequent laxity in its application. Of the primary schools thus—on paper at least—importantly reformed, Constantinople reckons about four hundred, attended by about 25,000 pupils of both sexes, and managed by fourteen committees of inspection corresponding to the fourteen quarters of the city. In the provinces, their numbers are proportioned to the size of the respective towns and villages, the very smallest and poorest of the latter having at least one attached to its mosque. But here, again, lax supervision has rendered nugatory most of the improvements thus effected: nearly everywhere out of the capital inspection worth the name is unknown, and the result is that writing and arithmetic, though less neglected than was the case forty years ago, receive not a tithe of the attention a statement of the nominal reforms in this direction might lead one to suppose.

As the Commission however recognised, the cardinal defect of the old system was that it provided no intermediary instruction to fill up the gap between these primary schools and the *medressèhs*. The result was that the vast majority of the whole Mussulman children of the empire never advanced beyond the rudimentary learning of the *mektebs*, which, excepting the religious part of it, was soon lost—as most Europeans still lose their 'little Latin and less Greek'—in the industrial or trading occupa-

tions of adult life. The few who could afford to improve these scanty elements of knowledge by subsequent private tuition were speedily absorbed by the Government service, but the mass of the population were left in all but the very lowest state of intellectual degradation.

To remedy this was the next work of the Council, which was found to involve so many practical difficulties that it was not till 1849 that the first of the new secondary schools (*mekteb-i-rushdièh*) was opened in Stamboul. They now number fourteen, or one for each quarter of the city, and most of the large provincial towns also possess one or more institutions of this class. The education given by them is also entirely gratuitous. The teachers, for the most part members of the Ulema, are paid by the State, which also provides books, instruments, and all other requisites of efficient instruction. On paper their course of instruction reads comprehensive enough, comprising as it does Arabic grammar, orthography, composition, sacred, Ottoman, and general history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of geometry. But, as in the case of the primary schools, laxity of inspection and a nearly total want of the test of examinations deprive this respectable curriculum of nearly all value. Still, after four or five years spent in the *mekteb*—the usual term required to qualify for admission to the secondary schools—and a further course of four years in these last, youths of ordinary ability perforce acquire a degree of education far in

advance of the general ignorance of forty years ago, and which in the capital and most of the chief provincial centres has already done much towards sapping the foundations of the old fanaticism among what may be called the middle and upper classes.

But important as was the reform involved in the creation of these intermediate schools, it was an easy one as compared with the reorganisation of the *medressèhs*, the control of which had for centuries been a monopoly of the Ulema. The interests and prejudices of this powerful body were alike opposed to improvement of any kind, and the changes proposed by the Council were therefore resisted with the most bigoted pertinacity. A bare statement of the course of study pursued in these institutions will suffice to show how unpractical and useless for almost every end of modern education was the instruction they afforded, and every modification of which was thus virulently opposed. Under the general name of "science" (*ylm*), the course consisted of grammar, syntax, logic, metaphysics, philology, metaphor, style, rhetoric, geometry, and astronomy, a proficiency in which qualified the student for the two lower degrees of "arts" in the Ottoman graduation. The two higher were (and still are) to be obtained only by those who aspire to admission into the ranks of the Ulema, and who to that end devote their lives to the study and interpretation, or administering, of the Law. This—to Mussulman imaginations—highest and completest

type of human learning, includes the doctrines of religion, the civil law, and commentaries on the written laws and on oral traditions. Happily for the country, the ambition to master this latter narrow but abtruse and intellectually profitless round of study, is potent with but very few of its youth. The education, however, of the relatively many who limited their course to the ten subjects required for the two lower degrees was of the most practically valueless description. It was, in fact, only suited to bewilder the intellect with a multitude of definitions, texts, and proper names, beset by barbarous terms borrowed from a language of which a knowledge could only be acquired by a study of years, and which recalled all the wretched controversies of the Lower Empire and the puerilities of the schoolmen. With such a scheme of education, Turkey was in its schools at this time, as in its policy a generation or two before, a perfect type of the Middle Ages. Sophistry was the chief employment of its "scholars," who knew as little about the history, geography, and political systems of other countries as they misconceived the relative power and civilisation of their own. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that any important change in institutions specially controlled by these transcendental bigots has been difficult and slow. Still, something has been effected. With special reference to this part of its scheme of reform, the Council despatched one of its own members on a mission to Europe, to study the university systems of England, France, and Germany, with a

view to the introduction of as many of their features as could be advantageously grafted on that of these collegiate schools. But the investigations of this gentleman were mainly confined to the University of Paris, and nearly all the reforms which have since been attempted have, therefore, been drawn on French lines, and in the case of most of the "special schools"—to be presently mentioned—have thus far been carried out by French professors. The result has been in some slight degree to modernise, and consequently to liberalise, the course of instruction stereotyped for centuries in these institutions; but the attempt has been so obstinately resisted, that it can hardly be said to have ever got beyond the paper stage. The *vis inertiæ* of "orthodox" opposition has, in fact, barred all real improvement, and the *medressèhs* are therefore still nearly as much a monopoly of the Ulema as they were before these efforts at reform began.

But if the Council practically failed in rendering these particular institutions subservient to the ends of a liberal education, it succeeded better in the establishment—or, more strictly speaking, the extension—of a new class of "special schools," which, in the capital at least, have in a great measure superseded the *medressèhs* for all popular purposes. Sultan Mahmoud had already founded two of these in connection with the imperial mosques of Achmet and Suleimanieh, for the education of young men intended for the civil service. In these two institutions the

course of instruction was indeed but limited, being confined to Arabic and Persian grammar, history, geography, arithmetic, and caligraphy;[1] but these branches of study were taught in the two schools in question with an efficiency to which even the best conducted of the *medressèhs* could at no time make pretension. The first of the additions to this valuable class was made in 1850, when the mother of Sultan Abdul Medjid founded the college which still bears her name, and which was intended to fill more completely than any institution till then in existence in the country, the void in the higher departments of metropolitan education. Like those of Mahmoud, this school was established for the benefit of candi-

[1] Owing mainly to the scarcity of printed books—though the supply in Turkey is now much larger than it was forty years ago —this particular art of writing is one of the most important branches of study throughout the East. Its difficulty is greatly complicated by the numerous varieties of penmanship in use. Of these there are no fewer than six—that called the *nessik*, which is the base of all, and which is employed solely for transcribing the Koran and the other sacred books; the *soulus*, which is used in inscriptions for the interior of mosques and the façades of gates, fountains, hospitals, and other public buildings; the *dewani*, employed for firmans and other official documents; the *rik'â*, or current hand of ordinary correspondence; the *talik*, or Persian character reversed, used in legal documents; and the *siakah*, which is peculiar to the Ministry of Finance and its provincial sub-departments. These various styles are nearly as distinct as so many different systems of shorthand, and it often enough happens, therefore, that even an educated Turk who can write, it may be, two or three of them, is as much at sea with the others as a practitioner of "Gurney" would be with a page of "Pitman." A *kiatib*, therefore, who can read and write the whole is, not unfairly, considered accomplished.

dates for civil employment; but it has the advantage over its rivals of being open to students of every class and creed throughout the empire. In practice, few but Mussulmans seek admission to its classes; but the advantages of the institution are freely offered to all who choose to compete for their enjoyment. Its course of study occupies four years, and employment in one or other of the public departments forms the prize to successful competitors at the end of that term. The average number of students in this institution is 300, of whom about a third belong to the "lower forms," and the remainder to the more advanced division.

In addition to these three middle-class colleges for intending aspirants to civil employment, an institution for the training of teachers for the primary and secondary schools was about the same time established in Stamboul. At present this gives instruction to about a hundred pupils, one-half of whom are fed, lodged, and clothed by the Government, while teachers and books are provided gratuitously for the whole. An Agricultural School was also founded at San Stefano—since diplomatically famous—with a view to afford much-needed instruction in the theory and practice of farming; but though this institution, I believe, still figures on the registers of the Ministry of Public Instruction, it has long been defunct. At no time did it number more than fifty pupils, and its benefit to the staple industry of the Mussulman population throughout the empire was therefore

practically *nil.* As far back as 1827, Sultan Mahmoud had succeeded in carrying out what was perhaps one of the greatest innovations of his reign —the establishment of an Imperial School of Medicine (*mektebitibbyé*), intended to train physicians and surgeons for the army and navy. The accidental burning of the building occupied by this important institution in 1848 gave the Council an opportunity of extending its basis in the following year, and this was done with a degree of intelligent liberality which, having been since adhered to and even increased, entitles the institution to take creditable rank among the medical schools of Europe. The Koranic prejudice against dissection for a long time impeded the study of anatomy, but this was at length overcome, and for several years past the bodies of convicts dying in the bagnio have replaced the old wax preparations from which the Turkish surgeon's scant knowledge of human physiology had previously been derived. The professors, still mostly Europeans, are nearly all men of celebrity in their several departments, and the instruction is on the whole liberal and thorough. Although the primary object of the institution is, as I have said, to train doctors for the army and navy, a considerable minority of civilian practitioners is also annually turned out, and an obstetric class further licenses a contingent of qualified *sages femmes.* The Military College, another creation of Mahmoud, is organised on the plan of the French school of St. Cyr, and, as in the case of

the Medical College, most of its professors are foreigners, ex-officers chiefly of the French or German armies. The course of study extends over four years for the infantry and five for the cavalry, the candidates for which are sent up from special preparatory schools at Constantinople, Adrianople, Monastir, Brousa, Damascus, and Baghdad. A separate branch school trains officers for the artillery and engineers, for both of which arms the term of study is also five years. In neither college nor school, however, is the education given at all commensurate with its cost to the State, seeing that the whole of the students in both are lodged, fed, clothed, and taught at the expense of the Government. With some few exceptions the three hundred and fifty or four hundred officers annually commissioned are merely qualified for routine regimental duty, and know little or nothing of scientific soldiering. The German-trained artillerists are the best, and from Crimean days to the present this arm has been the *corps d'élite* of the Turkish army. But except among the survivors of the last generation, the scandal is no longer met with of a Turkish field-officer who can neither read nor write. A Naval School at Halki, one of the Prince's Islands in the Marmora, is not more satisfactory in its results for the other services. This institution similarly trains about 150 pupils, who during four years learn the elements of a nautical education, and are then drafted into active service—in the Golden

Horn—with less knowledge of navigation and practical seamanship than the pupils of one of our Thames training ships.

In 1869, after the return of Abdul Aziz from Europe, and while his head was yet full of France as a model for everything, the system thus formed was further developed by a new law of public instruction based on the French code with the English denominational element added, ordering the extension of the *rushdièh* schools to every group of 500 houses, and the creation of two higher classes of school called *odâdiyèh* (or upper secondary) and *sultaniyèh* (imperial lyceums), both of which were to be open to Mussulmans and Rayahs alike. The first—of which one was to be provided for every 1,000 houses—was to receive pupils who had passed through the *rushdièhs*, and in a course of three years to further teach them Ottoman literature and composition, French (the only European language), political economy, geography, rhetoric, universal history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, natural history, physics, and drawing. The lyceums were to be established in the various provincial capitals, and in another course of three years were to afford a degree of still higher instruction than that given in the *odâdiyèhs*. Both were to be partly self-supporting by fees and partly subventioned by the province. I have said "were to be," for as yet this "law" of 1869 has received no practical execution, and the system of State instruction remains as the previous reforms

left it, limited mainly to the old primary, secondary, and college schools, capped by one other institution of later date.

This idea of provincial lyceums was merely the extension of a scheme for a metropolitan college promoted in 1868 by M. Boré, the French Ambassador—no relation of the learned Abbé—who forced on A'ali Pasha a project for the conversion of the building then occupied in Pera by the Medical School into a grand Lycée, organised after a strictly French model, and manned by French professors, with the unconcealed object of, as far as possible, Gallicising the Mussulman and Rayah middle classes of the capital, from which the institution was to attract its students by the bait of a nearly free advanced secular education. French influence being then paramount at the Porte, A'ali had no choice but to submit, and the large building at Galata-serai was accordingly given over to M. Boré and his professors, with a subvention to support it out of all proportion with the State aid given to education elsewhere. But the aim of the new college was so obviously political that even the bribe of nearly free board, clothing, and instruction to a large number of resident students, and of teaching for an almost nominal fee to outsiders, failed to attract Mussulmans or Rayahs. Turkish and Arabic were, indeed, to be taught by native professors, but all the rest of a long list of subjects was to be learned through the sole medium of French, which

was the only European language admitted to the curriculum — even Greek, one of the commonest tongues of Constantinople and the whole Levant, being excluded. The books used, too, were supplied from the French Ministry of Public Instruction, whence also most of the teachers were directly commissioned. Hardly a pretence, indeed, was made to conceal the fact that politico-Catholic propagandism, and not popular education, was the chief end and purpose of the institution. The Greek and Armenian patriarchs lost no time in warning their people against the "godless" trap; and though the Ulema could not openly decry an enterprise supported and nominally favoured by the Government, they quite as effectually discredited it amongst the Faithful, with the general result that, except a batch of Turkish boys, who were in a measure forced into it by the Porte, and sons of French-protected "Latins," whom M. Boré similarly ordered to enrol themselves, hardly a pupil could be induced to attend its classes. After a year or two's hopeless effort to overcome the general prejudice—enlivened by much quarrelling between the director and his staff, and yet more indiscipline among the students—the scheme, as a French one, proved a confessed *fiasco*. Indemnities were duly claimed for and paid to the professors, and shortly after "the day of Sedan" both M. Boré and his Lycée disappeared from the scene. The institution was some time afterwards reorganised on a purely Ottoman basis, but the taint of its origin

clung to it still; and although it yet survives, and is attended by some 200 students, whom hope of Government employment attracts to its classes, it cannot be credited with having done much to raise the level of public instruction even in the capital, beyond which any influence it exerts has not yet extended. In connection with this costly and pretentious half-success, the abortion of Reshid Pasha's older scheme of a national university—Dar-al-Fanoun—may be here fitly recorded. The building, whose first stone was laid with such pomp and promise by Abdul Medjid in 1846, was in due time reared and roofed in, but at this stage it remained till the outbreak of the Crimean war, when it was first utilised as an hospital for the allied troops. Later, about 1860, it was fitted up for its originally intended use, and for a few years afterwards occasional "lectures"—not above the level of our own Mechanics' Institutes—were given within it to indiscriminate audiences by amateurs, with as little method as educational value or result. But beyond this, neither the building nor the idea of which it was the outcome has further contributed to promote Turkish learning or civilisation in any way.

The reader will not have failed to observe that, however fairly complete for the purposes of male education in such a society, the machinery thus noticed has the cardinal defect of providing only the most elementary instruction for females. Between six and eight or nine years of age, girls are admissi-

ble to the primary schools, but even where advantage is taken of this, the trifling knowledge so acquired is of little or no value, and is speedily forgotten in the after occupations of harem life. Hence the almost universal ignorance of Turkish women, except in the case of the small minority of the rich, who receive private instruction at home before their early marriages. In Stamboul the fashion of late years has been to employ foreign governesses for this purpose, and there are now many Mussulman ladies who, besides reading and writing Turkish, know a smattering of French, and can compass a scale exercise or even a waltz on the piano; but the *mode* has not yet extended to the provinces, and, save the wives and daughters of some Pasha or other great functionary from the capital, there are none there who can boast of such attainments. The vast majority of the sex, even in the wealthier families, are as ignorant of all three of the "r's" as any Frankish baron of the Middle Ages. This illiterateness of Turkish women and total absence of any provision for them in the national scheme of public instruction differ widely from the state of things in Egypt, where special schools for females form prominent features in the system of public instruction, and are educating the present generation of Arab and Coptic girls in Cairo and some of the larger towns as women in the East have never been educated before. It would be repeating [illegible]mmonplace to dilate on the absolute necessity of [illegible] similar provision for Mussulman women in

Turkey also, if any true social regeneration of the country is to be effected. All Western popular error to the contrary notwithstanding, their influence over their husbands, sons, and brothers is immense; and, till this has been rendered healthy in the best and broadest sense by the intellectual elevation of those who exercise it, Ottoman civilisation must continue to reflect the want.

Besides the unsectarian State schools which are thus open to all the subjects of the empire, the Greek and Armenian communities maintain denominational systems of their own. These include primary, secondary, and upper schools, supported partly by pious endowments, and partly by fees and voluntary contributions. In this respect the Rayah Greeks are far ahead of the Armenians, though the latter have also made marked educational progress within the past thirty years. Almost every Greek village, or parish in the larger mixed towns, has its free primary school, mostly annexed to the church, as the Turkish *mektebs* are to the mosque. In this the instruction given is confined to reading, writing, the rudiments of arithmetic, and the catechism. The teacher, who receives a salary of 200 or 250 piastres a month, is usually a deacon waiting for priest's orders, though the ferule is also sometimes wielded by a layman. Where the village is too poor to support a school-master, the office is held by the *papas* (priest), who is paid a trifle beyond his clerical fees for this extra duty. The popular feeling makes attendance at these

schools almost compulsory, with the result that, even in the provinces, a wholly illiterate Greek is hardly ever met with. The provision for secondary instruction is less complete, as schools of this class, having neither State nor municipal support, are mainly dependent on the generosity of private founders. In Constantinople, and a few of the largest Levant towns, this suffices to maintain several of these so-called "central" seminaries, in which the meagre course of the primary schools is supplemented by ancient Greek, history, geography, and more advanced arithmetic. But it is only in or near the capital that any higher class tuition can be had. This is there provided by two collegiate schools, which, as they have also theological departments for the training of candidates for the priesthood, are both under the immediate control of the Patriarch, while the whole of the other schools are managed by committees of lay notables independently of the clergy. One of these high gymnasia is at the Fanar, close by the patriarchal palace, having been removed thither some years ago from Kuru-tchesmé, on the Bosphorus, where it had been founded in the beginning of the present century by Demetrius Morousi, a Fanariote Hospodar, who lost his head in 1812 on suspicion of having sold Bessarabia to the Russians. This "great school of the nation," as it is called, has a considerable endowment, and besides a numerous clerical class, boards and educates (for the most part gratuitously) about 120 lay pupils, who receive a fairly sound education in

ancient and modern Greek, Latin, the chief modern European languages, history, science, and advanced mathematics. This institution it is that supplies teachers for most of the secondary and upper schools of the Greek community throughout the empire. The other "college" is at Halki, one of the Prince's group in the Marmora, and is attached to the ancient monastery of Panhagia, which picturesquely crowns the summit of that island. This trains a still larger theological class than the institution in the Fanar; and, besides some forty lay students, annually turns out about fifty candidates for orders, who reckon among the best educated clergy of the Greek Church. The wealthier merchants and bankers who care to give their sons a more fashionable, though not a better, education than these two institutions afford, send them to Paris or Athens, whence they generally return, if not accomplished *loghiotatoi*, at least brimful of the *grande* and other worse *idées*. Indeed, until within recent years, it was not necessary to go so far for such inspiration, as very many of these Greek schools were nurseries of Hellenic—and largely too of Russian—propagandism, in which political hatred of the Turks was inculcated nearly as openly as the sacred obligation of the four Lents. In this respect, however, a great improvement has taken place; and, except in rare instances, the liberty of instruction accorded by the Porte is not now thus abused. But this Greek machinery for education still largely shares the great defect of the State system in that it

makes little or no provision for the instruction of girls. This for the lower classes is limited to the primary village or parish schools, while for everything above that recourse must be had to the missionary or other private foreign schools, or to foreign—mostly English—governesses, whom it has now become the fashion to employ in Constantinople, Smyrna, and the other chief towns of the Levant. But the so-called higher education of girls which is thus obtained does not, of course, penetrate into the interior, where reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic form the limit beyond which the book learning of Zoé, Haidée, and Katinka seldom or never goes.[1]

The school system of the Armenians resembles in the main that of the Greeks thus briefly described, with a degree of inferiority proportioned to the difference in intellectual activity between the two races. As amongst the latter, so with the Armenians —nearly every village, and in the towns every parish, has a free primary school attended by both boys and girls, who are similarly taught reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. In some of the larger towns a few better-class schools are found, which add to this meagre primary course instruction in grammar,

[1] At Salonica and one or two other points in Roumelia, effort has been made within the past three or four years to supply this defect as to female education; but with these exceptions, and especially in the Asiatic provinces, the statement in the text accurately describes the general situation.

geography, history, and the lower mathematics; but even in Constantinople there are only three or four of these, and probably not half a score throughout all Asia Minor. Some of the wealthier merchants and saraffs of the capital imitate the example of the richer Greeks, and send their sons to Europe, mostly to the Mechitarist colleges at Venice, Vienna, or Paris; but the result in these instances has seldom been either educationally or morally a success, and the present tendency therefore is to profit more by the advantages offered by the mixed State schools described above. The condition of the Catholic Armenians—who are, of course, excluded from the Gregorian schools—would be even worse but for the instruction afforded them by the numerous Jesuit and Lazarist seminaries in the capital and larger provincial towns; as, being too few to maintain village schools of their own, they are in the interior absolutely without any means of instruction except their almost illiterate priests. In respect of female education, both Gregorians and Catholics are—save among the wealthier urban classes, who, though less generally than the Greeks, employ foreign governesses—hardly at all better off than the Turks. The result is that, lacking the intellectual liveliness and energy of the sex amongst both Greeks and Ottomans, Armenian women are as a rule the most stupidly animal of womankind throughout the East. To accord with popular prejudice, I should of course describe Turkish women as being at the nadir of

female civilisation, but I prefer to tell what I believe to be the truth, and assign this rank rather to the wives and daughters of the most numerous Christian community of the empire than to the "slaves of the harem" on whom so much Western pity is unintelligently wasted.

The Jews are the only other Rayahs to whose educational condition allusion need be made, and everywhere, especially in the eastern provinces, this is at the lowest ebb. Within the past dozen years the Alliance Israèlite and the Anglo-Jewish Association, assisted by a few foreign members of the race, have promoted the opening of six schools in Constantinople, two in Adrianople, two in Salonica, two at Schumla, two at Rustchuk, and one each at Samakov, Volo, Widdin, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Baghdad, as also an industrial school at Jaffa; but, except in three or four of these, the education given is of the narrowest and most elementary kind. Fearing proselytism, they everywhere keep aloof from the missionary schools, and are for the most part too ignorant and poor to either value or be able to support even primary schools of their own. Thus Smyrna, with a Jewish population of nearly 20,000, sends only 150 pupils to its solitary school, while but fifty can be mustered at Aleppo, and twenty-eight at Jaffa. In this respect there is little difference between the small remnant of the ancient race in Syria and Palestine and the Spanish and other European colonies of Salonica, Constantinople, and

Smyrna: education is a civilising force to be yet developed amongst the whole.

Happily for the future civilisation of the country, this imperfect and badly worked native machinery for popular instruction has been powerfully supplemented by foreign missionary and other labour in the same direction. Within the past quarter of a century, the American missionaries, especially, have spread an educational network over Asia Minor, part of Armenia, and Syria, from which the most encouraging results have already accrued. In Syria, the agents of several British and French societies have zealously co-operated; and, thanks to the whole, this province is now better provided with schools than any other in the empire. With their characteristic combination of "piety and common sense," the agents of the Boston Board early recognised the hopelessness of any miraculous influence on the adult population—whether Mussulman or pseudo-Christian—and wisely directed most of their energies and resources to the instruction of the young. This educational development of missionary work first took shape—beyond mere Sunday-school instruction—in the establishment of theological seminaries at Kharpout, Marsovan, Marash, and Mardin for the training of native Armenian pastors for the churches founded by missionary effort from amongst the Gregorian community. Common schools were, much about the same time (1859-70), opened in connection with almost every station occupied by an agent of

the Board, in which, without any overt attempt at proselytism, the rudiments of a secular education were taught to the young of both sexes, either quite gratuitously or for merely a nominal fee. These have proved so successful that I may here at once say they were last year attended by more than 12,000 pupils. Special female schools—at first chiefly designed to educate wives for the native pastors and teachers, but subsequently extended to girls of all classes—were next opened, and of these twelve are now in prosperous activity at Brousa, Marsovan, Sivas, Aintab, Marash, Mardin, Bitlis, Erzeroum, and one or two stations, with a total of more than 800 pupils. The teaching includes English, Armenian, Turkish (or Arabic, according to the locality), reading, writing, arithmetic, and needle-work, combined with Evangelical Christian instruction. This last feature of course practically shuts the door against Mussulman pupils, though in Syria, as will be seen, not a few of these of both sexes avail themselves of the advantages thus offered.

At the summit of what may be called this American system stands Robert College, Constantinople, a very high-class institution founded in 1863 by the munificence of a New York merchant whose name it bears. Although financially this college is unconnected with the Boston Board, its late and present directors—the Rev. Drs. Hamlin and Washburne—were both agents of the Board, as were (or still are) several of its professors. In the year named, a site

for the college was purchased at Bebek, on a commanding eminence overlooking the Bosphorus; but mainly owing to French Jesuit opposition, it was not till 1869 that permission to erect the building was actually obtained from the Porte. This once had, the work was rapidly pushed on, and in the autumn of 1871 the institution was opened with accommodation for 250 students. Its curriculum consists of preparatory and advanced courses, in the latter of which a comprehensive and really high-class education is given, the whole through the vehicle of the English language. It has especially attracted many Bulgarian students, and it may be affirmed that not a few of those who will "come to the front" in the new Principality will have owed their intellectual genesis and growth to American culture here received. The college, which is already self-supporting, has further trained professors and teachers for two cognate but as yet less advanced institutions at Aintab and Kharpout, where a couple of other academies, respectively called the Central Turkey College and the Armenia College—have been similarly founded under the ægis of the Stars and Stripes. The former was opened in 1876, and can lodge over 100 students, of whom more than sixty were last year in residence. A speciality of this institution is a very complete course of medical instruction, so good that nearly all the students who have subsequently offered themselves for examination at the Imperial Medical School of Constantinople have easily passed, and

obtained diplomas qualifying them to practise anywhere throughout the empire. The Kharpout college gives similar instruction, *minus* the medical course, and provides well-trained teachers for excellent secondary schools at out-stations of the mission.

It is, however, on Syria that foreign philanthropy has most concentrated its educational zeal. There, in fact, schools may be said to be in excess of the wants of the population. At the head of the whole ranks the Beyrout Protestant College, an institution analogous to, but more developed than, that at Aintab. In 1870 the agents of the American (Boston) Board, who had already laboured in that province for nearly half a century, were transferred to the United Presbyterian (Philadelphia) Board, and in the following year this college was built and opened under the joint auspices, but organically independent of both. It is supported by considerable endowments raised in England and America, and employs a staff of thirteen professors and teachers for the instruction of (last year) 103 students, of whom twenty attended the medical and eighty-three the literary classes. Both courses are open to students of all creeds, and are already followed by members of the Protestant, Orthodox Greek, Greek Catholic, Latin, Druze, Maronite, Armenian, and Coptic communities, Moslems alone standing aloof. Like those of Aintab, the medical graduates of this institution readily pass the examinations of the State college in Constantinople; but even without the diplomas of this, they practise

with great acceptance and success throughout Syria and Palestine, in both of which native medical attendance is still a much-felt want. The agents of the Philadelphia Board also maintain throughout the province no fewer than five "high schools," girls' boarding schools, and seventy-five primary schools, with a total attendance last year of (including the college students) 4,019 pupils. The French missionary schools rank next in importance and the number of their attendance. These include a high-class girls' boarding and day-school at Beyrout, in which between eighty and 100 pupils are well taught by the "Ladies of Nazareth" from Lyons; a free school for 200 poor pupils, also at Beyrout, with branches at Nazareth, Acre, Haiffa, and Shefá-Amar; a group of schools at Beyrout, Tripoli, Sidon, Damascus, and the Lebanon, in which more than 1,100 children are educated by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent and St. Paul; a couple of free girls' schools, with 300 pupils, in Beyrout and the Lebanon, taught by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Marseilles; several free schools, with about 350 pupils, conducted by "Sisters of the Sacred Heart" (chiefly native Syrians educated by the Jesuits); a Jesuit college in Beyrout, and several schools in the interior, with an average total of 800 pupils; a Lazarist college and schools in the Lebanon, Damascus, and Tripoli, with 320 pupils; and, finally, half a dozen Franciscan schools, with from 500 to 600 pupils. The English institutions comprise the "British Syrian

Schools for the Improvement of Syrian Female Education," which include a normal school at Beyrout, schools for the blind in the same city and Damascus, and numerous branches in the Lebanon, at Damascus, Zahleh, Tyre, and Hasbeyah—the whole last year giving instruction to nearly 2,000 pupils. The "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East" limits its labours to a couple of training schools and an orphanage at Nazareth and the Lebanon, which last year reckoned about 120 pupils. The Church of Scotland Mission maintains two schools at Beyrout with some 300 pupils of both sexes, while sixteen other Scotch schools educate 750 pupils in various parts of the Lebanon, and one for Moslem girls attracts seventy of these in Beyrout. The Church Missionary Society supports eight schools, with 270 pupils, in Nazareth, Acre, and the neighbouring districts; and the Irish and American Presbyterian Mission fourteen at Damascus, the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon, with an average attendance of 450, chiefly boys. There are also at Beyrout a Prussian high-class girls' boarding-school with seventy pupils, and an orphanage and common school, also for girls, which together maintain and educate 170 pupils of all sects. Thus upwards of 11,000 pupils of both sexes receive for the most part gratuitous instruction from foreign-supported schools, in few or none of which—though the whole may be called missionary—is any attempt made at proselytism, experience having proved the futility of this with any hope of

permanent success.[1] The pupils are, for the most part, required to attend the prayers which form part of the daily course in nearly all these institutions, but beyond that, as a rule, no overt influence is used in any of them to win converts to the particular creed of the school.

Besides this wealth of foreign educational agency, Syria also possesses many native schools of considerable merit. Among the most important of these is the large secular school opened in 1863, and since successfully conducted at Beyrout by a Mr. Bisbany, a Syrian Protestant, who educates about 170 Christian, Moslem, and Jewish pupils, of whom 130 are boarders and the remainder day scholars. The religious instruction of the whole is cared for by clerical members of their respective sects—priests, imams, and rabbis—who attend daily for this purpose, while all the other studies

[1] On this subject of proselytising, it may perhaps be worth while to record an admission made to me some years ago at Jerusalem by the late Rev. Mr. Nicholayson, then the dean of the little Anglican church on Mount Zion, and, after Bishop Gobat, head of the Anglo-Prussian mission kept up in that city. In reply to a question as to the practical returns for the large outlay made in carrying on the mission, his frank answer was, "We have been at work for nearly thirty years with a large and costly staff, and yet I grieve to say that we can hardly claim to have made half a real convert for each year of that time. Nominally, indeed, we have made many more, but as soon as we have withdrawn the money or other support given to most of them, the majority have lapsed back to their old faiths." And similar experience, I believe, might be confessed to by nearly every other missionary agency in the country appealing to either Mussulman or Jew.

are pursued in common, undisturbed by jealousies of either race or creed. In addition to nearly seventy primary schools in various parts of the mountain, the Lebanon Government also maintains a large school at Beyrout, which is attended by more than 900 pupils. The Maronites, too, have a college and seventy-three schools in the Lebanon, a college and three schools in Beyrout, and one school in Damascus, Sidon, and Latakia, besides several primary schools elsewhere, with an aggregate of nearly 4,000 pupils in the whole. The Orthodox Greeks have four schools in Beyrout, two in the Lebanon, and one in Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Latakia, and Damascus, educating in all some 1,500 pupils; while the less numerous Greek Catholics support a college and two schools in Beyrout, five schools in the Lebanon, and one at Damascus, Sidon, and Tyre, with a total of 400 scholars. The work of the whole of these institutions is greatly facilitated and promoted by the abundant issue of vernacular school-books from the printing presses belonging to the foreign missions and private owners in Beyrout. Among these mechanical aids to enlightenment, the five (three steam and two hand) presses of the American mission rank first, their total outcome last year amounting to no fewer than 12,630,700 pages of educational, religious, and other literature in the Arabic language. Besides these, there are four other Protestant, one Jesuit, and six Moslem presses at work in the same city, which collectively produce and export to Egypt and other Arabic-speaking countries

throughout the East an immense yearly total of scholastic and other literary matter. As another indication of Syrian intellectual activity, it may be mentioned that no fewer than ten weekly, fortnightly, and monthly newspapers or magazines are also published in Beyrout—not, to be sure, of high journalistic merit, but still of hopeful significance for the future of the country.

While the so-called Christian population of Syria has thus a very plethora of educating agencies—much in advance, it must be confessed, of its present means of locally utilising the results—the Moslem and other sects, which hopelessly discourage missionary effort, have few or no schools in the province worth the name. The *rushdièhs*, or secondary schools, have never taken healthy root in this division, and at Damascus, with a Mussulman population of 130,000, they attract only some 200 pupils; at Beyrout 120; at Sidon about 90; at Latakia 150; at Tripoli 70; and so on throughout the province. Here, too, the *sultaniyèh*, or high schools (lyceums), have never got beyond the paper stage, and they count consequently for nothing among the educational forces of either Syria or Palestine. Except, therefore, the few Moslem youths and girls (of these latter less than a score in all) who attend one or other of the missionary or Mr. Bisbany's schools, this section of the population is no better off than the great body of their co-religionists in other parts of the empire. The half cognate communities of the Druzes, Metualis,

Ansariyehs, and sedentary Arabs are still worse provided, as, while but very few of them can be attracted to the foreign schools, they almost equally shun the Ottoman *mektebs*, and have none of their own.

Although the level of national education is thus low throughout Turkey, the fact, it will be seen, results from no lack of either State or sectarian schools, nor yet from popular indifference to the value of instruction. On paper, at least, the national system will compare favourably with that of more than one European country with much higher pretensions to civilisation; providing as it does primary teaching for the entire Mussulman population—in Asia nearly three-fourths of the whole—and graduated higher instruction, up to a stage only below university level, for a large proportion of the urban inhabitants of all races and creeds. But it is only on paper that the system is thus complete. The same fatal apathy that paralyses nearly every other branch of the administration here again defeats and minimises what should be the natural results. Long before the creation of a Ministry of Public Instruction, corrupt management, it is true, had greatly reduced the large endowments made by pious charity for educational and other cognate purposes; but even since the Ulema were superseded in this profitable function by a regular State department, the evil has gone on, diminished only in proportion to the reduced revenues now available to meet this great national want. The fault may

not be—in the case of Munif Effendi,[1] the present holder of the portfolio, assuredly is not—that of the Minister for the time being, but of the vicious system that not merely permits but encourages and almost compels abuse and neglect of duty in this as in all other departments of the public service. Largely in fact, and very completely in theory, the machinery for popular instruction exists, but it is so badly worked that the great mass of the Mussulman population is as backward in book knowledge as the country itself is in respect of roads, railways, and canals. The Rayahs, especially the Greeks, are more advanced; but away from the capital and larger seaports the credit of this is due, as we have seen, less to their own sacrifices for learning than to foreign missionary zeal. The Armenians know the money value of education and cultivate it, either at their own cost, or by preference with the aid of gratuitous foreign help—up to that point; but beyond that, outside the modish influences of Pera, their intellectual ambition has not carried them. Of the large Eurasian, or mixed Levantine, population I say nothing, as, although they form an important com-

[1] A long acquaintance with this functionary enables me to testify to his exceptional culture and personal worth. After Ahmet Veffik Pasha, he is perhaps the most variously learned Turk of the present day, and in both his official and private life compels the respect alike of Moslems and Christians. If the bureaucratic class contained even a small percentage of such men, there would be hope for Turkey on its own bottom yet, but the like of Munif and Ahmet Veffik may be counted on the fingers of one hand.

mercial and social element in the capital and round the Ægean seaboard, they reckon for absolutely nothing in any estimate of the political future of the country, either east or west of the Bosphorus. An important review of the whole, however, compels the conviction that—thanks to whatever qualities, or however aided—the Rayahs, of nearly every sect, are rapidly distancing the Moslems in educational as in material progress, and, unless the Porte look to it, must at no distant future elbow them out of the government, as they have already done out of the trade and chief industries of the country.

CHAPTER III.

TRADE CENTRES.

Absence of statistics—The vilayet almanacs untrustworthy—*Smyrna*, the capital of Turco-Asian trade—Its situation and commercial movement—*Brousa*, still an important industrial centre—Its silk trade—*Angora*, its mohair speciality—The varieties of this staple—*Konia*, its bigotted population and commercial potentiality—*Sivas*, excellently situated for a great trade—Its dependencies, Amasia and Tocat — Great natural advantages of its port, Samsoun—*Adana*, its thriving agriculture—Movement of its port, Mersina—*Erzeroum* owes its importance to the Persian traffic—Its recent decline — *Trebizond*, also indebted to Persia, but important from its other trade—Fiscal impolicy—Yearly average of trade—*Kharpout*, great fertility and dense population of its neighbourhood — Its chief products — *Diarbekir*, its great commercial decline—Heads of its present trade—Prohibitory cost of transport—*Mosul*, as capital of Mesopotamia, might, with steam communications, become centre of a great trade — At present, practically isolated—*Baghdad*, its greater advantages, and rapidly growing commerce—Steam communication with India and England—*Bussora*, its movement—*Aleppo*, special features of its trade—*Alexandretta*, the port of North Syria and Mesopotamia—*Hamah*, the Manchester of Syria—*Damascus*, its great decadence—*Beyrout*, the centre of trade and finance to all this division—*Jerusalem*, one of the deadest of Turkish cities—Trade of its port, Jaffa—*Rhodes*, centre of the sponge trade—*Djedda*, the only Turkish Red Sea port of any importance—The country generally rich in the elements of a great commerce.

WITH only the most fragmentary and seldom trustworthy statistics available, it would be futile to attempt any connected and comprehensive account

of the trade of these Eastern provinces. The Porte itself keeps no complete register of the commercial movement of the country, and the figures to be culled from the official almanacs of such vilayets as publish them—from which most of our consular reports are compiled—are often notoriously misleading. I shall better contribute to the information of the reader, therefore, by noticing briefly the principal trade-centres of the five divisions in the order in which their chief physical features have been sketched, than by attempting to frame any tabulated or other statement on the general subject which, in default of authoritative returns, no care could save from being incomplete and inexact.

First among these capitals of Turco-Asian trade ranks SMYRNA, which, after Constantinople, is the most important commercial city of the empire, and now disputes with Alexandria the right to be called the Liverpool of the Levant, as it anciently contested with half-a-dozen other Ionian cities the honour of having given birth to Homer. Situated at the head of a fine bay of the same name, partly along the shore-line and partly along the ruin-capped slopes of Mount Pagus, its appearance from the sea is most picturesque, but here, as in the capital, it is distance that lends enchantment to the view, for on landing the illusion is soon and rudely dispelled. Once inside the fine line of quay recently erected by the speculative enterprise of a French firm, narrow, badly built, and worse drained streets

prepare the traveller for what awaits him in the capital itself. In the absence here as elsewhere of any regular census throughout the empire, the population is variously estimated at from 180,000 to 200,000. Of these, on a middle computation, about 70,000 are Turks, who occupy their own large and quite separate quarter of the town; about 80,000 Greeks, Rayah and Hellenic; some 15,000 Jews, also relegated (though not compulsorily) to their own quarter; 10,000 Armenians, some 14,000 Levantines (the descendants of Europeans by mixed marriages, who still jealously call themselves English, French, Italian, Spanish, or what not, as the case may be); and the remainder Europeans of various nationalities. A portion of this aggregate population is residentially distributed during the whole, or part of the year, among several suburban villages, of which Bournabat and Boujah are the most noteworthy. In both of these, embosomed in the richest vegetation, the traveller sees country villas worthy of the best parts of the Riviera; in which everything that wealth, good taste, and the most generous hospitality can contribute combine to make him forget that he is, geographically at least, in the wilds of Asia, within gunshot of brigand Turcomans and Zebeks, who infest the neighbouring hills and care little for either Pasha or Padishah. Smyrna, the reader need hardly be reminded, is historically famous for its claim to be the birthplace of "the blind old man" of neighbouring "Scio's rocky isle," and as one of the Seven

Churches of Asia, the other six of which—Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea—either survive only in wretched villages, on or near their ancient sites, or can with difficulty be traced through a few fragmentary ruins. Of old Smyrna itself some remains still exist on the north-eastern side of the bay, and others of the early Christian period on Mount Pagus above the modern town. This last fell finally into the hands of the Ottomans early in the fifteenth century, after having been previously held by the Seljuks and other Turks at intervals during more than three centuries. For many years past the trade of Smyrna has been steadily growing, its position as the terminus of two railways especially contributing to this development. Thus in 1870 its exports and imports respectively amounted to 3,620,450*l.* and 3,007,540*l.*, while in 1874 they had reached 3,940,000*l.* and 4,490,000*l.*, further swollen in 1876, as regards the exports, to 4,630,000*l.*, with an exceptional decline in the imports for that year to 2,860,000*l.* The principal exports, drawn from nearly all parts of the interior of the peninsula, include figs (about 12,000 tons a year), raisins, cotton, valonea (nearly 20,000 tons annually), drugs, wool, silk, hides, gall-nuts, yellow-berries, sponges, gum, wine, carpets—manufactured mostly at Oushak and the neighbouring village of Kulah—oil, tobacco, liquorice, and other produce, more than half of which find a market in Great Britain, which in return supplies about

two-thirds of the imports, chiefly in coal and manufactured goods. When the existing railways are further extended and feeders to them multiplied by the making of good communal roads, the trade of this already great port must increase in full proportion to the augmented produce which larger means of transport cannot fail to encourage.

About a hundred and fifty miles north-east, as the crow flies, BROUSA, the chief town of the large vilayet of Houdavengiar (Bithynia), though greatly reduced in population since it ceased to be the capital of the empire, is still a large and thriving seat of the silk and wool trades—the former one of the few remaining industries of the country. Built along the lowest slope of Mount Olympus, watered by many streams, and almost buried in trees, the town, as approached over a plain some twenty miles long by ten miles broad from either of its two ports—Ghemlek or Moudania, each about twenty miles off, on the Marmora—is one of the prettiest in Asia Minor. Its mixed population of Turks, Greeks, and Armenians reckons about 73,000, and before its frequent semi-destructions by earthquake it boasted a mosque for every day of the year, but of these more than two-thirds are now in ruins, as are also many of its once finest fountains, baths, khans, and other public buildings, from the same volcanic cause. The cultivation of silk is carried on in all the surrounding villages, and its spinning keeps at work some ninety mills in the town and its neighbourhood, employing above

6,000 hands, nearly all young married women or girls, of whom not a few are Turks. Many of these factories are owned by foreigners, and most of their spun produce goes to France, England being the next best customer. Owing to the prevalence of silk-worm disease during the past three or four years, the quality of the thread from native seed has much deteriorated, and as that from Japanese worms is yellower and coarser in texture, the general staple has for the time fallen in value. Comparatively little of this is woven into pure silk stuffs at Brousa itself, where, besides the spinning-mills there are many looms at work manufacturing the well-known bath towels and mixed silk-and-cotton stuffs (called *kemmerla*) sold as "Brousa silks," which find a large market throughout the Levant, and deserve more attention than they receive in Europe. The total silk yield of the province, which nearly all passes through Brousa, averages about 700,000*l.* a year, besides which it produces and exports large quantities of wool, cotton, chrome, oil, olives, and wine—this last chiefly to Constantinople, as it will not bear transport to more distant European markets. Though Ghemlek and Moudania are the immediate ports of Brousa itself; most of the general exports and imports of the province are shipped and received through Panderma, a small port lower down on the Marmora.

Standing on the site, and largely constructed out of the ruins, of Roman Ancyra, some two hundred and forty miles due east of Brousa, ANGORA derives

less importance from being the capital of an extensive vilayet than from its virtual monopoly of the trade in first-class *tiftik*, or mohair, the produce of the famous breed of goats referred to in a previous chapter. The province also exports opium, yellow berries, gum tragacanth, and a small quantity of grain, but its great staple is the long silky fleece that feeds the mills of Bradford and Norwich. More than three-fourths of its population of some 35,000—of whom about a third are Greeks, Armenians, and Jews—are engaged in this industry, the Turks in breeding and clipping the goats, and the Christians in buying and re-selling the fleeces to the agents of English houses in Angora and other towns of the province. What is generally known as the Angora clip includes the produce of Beybazar, Argash, Geredeh, Boli, Castamboul, Eski-Shehr, Sevri-hissar and one or two other neighbouring districts. The best hair comes from Beybazar, the second quality from Argash, and only the third from Angora itself: then follow Geredah, Charkesh, Boli, Castamboul, Eski-Shehr and in gradually descending scale. The finest quality is obtained from the first clip of the kid in its second year, the next best from the wether, and the coarsest of all from the entire male. Still inferior qualities are produced from crossing with the common goat, but the second cross brought to the pure male yields (in the best districts) pure mohair. Goats fed in woody and mountainous districts throw the best fleeces, the clip of those pastured in the plains being shorter and less silky. The great drought of five

years ago, followed by a severe winter, destroyed nearly one-third of the flocks, and correspondingly reduced the yield of the following year. But successful efforts have since been made to recover the loss, and the clip of last season accordingly much exceeded the average of the five preceding years—some 38,000 bales (of 175 lb. each)—all bought for England at about 3*s.* 6*d.* a lb., and of superior quality owing to the larger proportion of young animals in the flocks. The province of Van also produces a considerable quantity of mohair, which is nearly all shipped from Trebizond, and, though much inferior in purity and fineness to the Angora fleeces, also finds a ready market in Constantinople for our Yorkshire mills.

About a hundred and fifty miles due south, KONIA—as Iconium, the old capital of the Seljuk Sultans, of whom the modern city contains many architectural relics[1]—is commercially important rather from what its trade might be made than from what it is. The present population is about 30,000, the majority of whom are bigoted Mussulmans, passively opposed to *ghiaour* innovations of every kind, and content, therefore, with camel transport and the Noachian plough. Situated on one of the main routes through the peninsula, and in the corner of a splendid basin dotted with more than 500 villages, with numerous

[1] It also possesses another link with its royal past as the residence of the Sheikh Hunkiar-Mollah, a lineal descendant of the Seljuk sovereigns, who has the privilege of binding on the sword on each new Sultan—equivalent to his coronation—in the metropolitan mosque of Eyoub.

valleys through the neighbouring mountains affording facilities for the construction of roads—and so for the transport of produce to the surrounding more elevated and less fertile districts—the position of the town is exceptionally adapted to a large commercial movement, if only it had the one additional advantage of steam communication with, or even good roads to the sea. At present though distant only about 180 miles from the little port of Adalia, the route thither is so impracticable that nearly all the foreign exported produce of the town and province is sent to Aïdin or Aleshehr, for railway conveyance thence to Smyrna, more than 300 miles away. Though the area of the great plain in which the city stands is estimated at 3,000,000 acres, it is so partially cultivated that the whole annual grain produce does not at present exceed 130,000 tons, with correspondingly small yields of cotton and flax—the cost of transport rendering it unprofitable for the peasants to grow more. The only other industries of Konia itself that add to the margin of these available for export, are carpet-making and the tanning and dyeing of blue and yellow leather, as to none of which have I been able to procure any better than guess-work statistics. Forty miles north-east of the city, however, beyond a great intervening stretch of fallow plain-land, the large salt lake of Tuz-göl supplies salt enough for a considerable trade in this article itself, and in the ridge of the Khoja-dagh, on its eastern shore, coal and iron ore of excellent quality crop up at a dozen points in totally neglected abundance.

Still more advantageously situated and richer in surrounding resources than this centre of orthodoxy, SIVAS—the ancient Sebastia, and for a time the capital of Armenia Minor—is, commercially, one of the most important cities, as the vilayet of which it is the *chef lieu* is one of the largest in the peninsula. Standing at the point where the great trunk route between Constantinople and Erzeroum is crossed by that from the Black Sea at Samsoun to Amasia, Diarbekir, Mosul, and Baghdad, it forms a centre of trade with the whole of these, and needs only improved communications to become an emporium of the very first class. The population of the province exceeds 1,500,000, of which Sivas itself contributes nearly 35,000—about two-thirds Mussulmans and the remainder Armenians, with a few Protestants, Catholics, and Greeks. The great majority of the rural inhabitants are Turcomans, whose numerous flocks supply the large quantities of wool that form one of the staple products of the provinces. Cereals of all kinds are also grown in abundance, but (as remarked in a former chapter) the cost of transport even to Samsoun renders any considerable commerce in these impossible, while with a railroad to that port Sivas and its neighbourhood might rival Odessa in the grain markets of Europe. Its other chief articles of export are carpets, hides, gall-nuts, and goat-skins, to which Yuzgat and Kaiserieh (both thriving dependencies of Angora) largely contribute. The latter of these towns, about 120 miles south-west of Sivas, has a population of some 25,000—with about the same numerical preponder-

ance of Moslems—and is the centre of a well-peopled district pretty evenly divided between tillage and pasture. In Byzantine times it was the chief emporium of Eastern Asia Minor, and now needs only—the universal need—roads and better government to again become a trade centre second to none between the two seas. Amasia, with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, though only a *chef lieu* of a sanjak, has the advantage of being within seventy miles of Samsoun, with which it is connected by a tolerable road, and is relatively more commercially active than its provincial capital. The town itself, nestled at the bottom of the deep gorge through which rushes the Yeshil Irmak, under a high rock crowned with a ruined Genoese capital—how justly proud, by the way, the modern representatives of the old republic may be of these frequent monuments of their ancestors' influence and enterprise throughout the East at a time when Englishmen were hardly known in these parts!—is one of the most picturesque I have seen in Asia Minor. It contains many fragments of Saracenic mosque architecture worthy of the preserving pencil of Owen Jones. But even of these the modern Caimacam is as ruthlessly careless as of the rock tombs of the old Pontic kings. The surrounding district produces in abundance raw silk, hemp, flax, cereals, opium, and wool, the sum of which is swelled by contributions from Tcharshembah, Niksar, and Karahissar, which send most of their surplus produce through it to Samsoun, in preference to Trebizond.

Tocat, too, contributes the outcome of its copper smelting works, besides considerable quantities of fruit, silk, cotton, opium, and cereals of various kinds.

The great trade of which Sivas is thus the general centre finds its main outlet at Samsoun, as to which a word or two of description will suffice. Since the loss of Batoum this is perhaps the best harbour now left to the Turks on the Black Sea, and with no great outlay might be made an excellent port. Even as it is, it affords better anchorage than Trebizond, and needs only dredging and a short mole to afford safe and ample accommodation for the largest trade. The population of the town itself is under 8,000, of whom, as everywhere else throughout the peninsula, the large majority are Mussulmans, Greeks, Armenians, and Jews reckoning next in the order mentioned, but its situation gives it a commercial importance much in excess of its census strength. The nature and extent of its exports will be gathered from what has been said as to the staple products of the great inland area that communicates through it with the Western markets. Its imports, which are still larger in money value, consist chiefly of manufactured goods, three-fourths of which come from England, transhipped at Constantinople into the French and Austrian steamers which almost monopolise the carrying trade of this coast. Considerable, however, as is the actual commerce of the port, with improved inland communications it might be almost indefinitely devoloped, being, as it is, the natural outlet not merely for the districts

which at present feed its trade, but for all Central Anatolia as well.

Though the vilayet of which it is the capital is the smallest in Asia Minor, ADANA, on the opposite side of the peninsula, is one of the most active seats of trade yet noticed. The population of the town itself numbers about 40,000, of whom again the great majority are Mussulmans, and the remainder Greek and Armenian Christians, with a few Jews. The chief urban handicrafts are weaving, dyeing, tanning, and soap-boiling; but, after supplying local wants, the outcome of the whole contributes little or nothing to the large exports from the province, and is valued altogether at less than 60,000*l.* a year. Agriculture is the staple industry, on which fully four-fifths of the population of the vilayet depend, either as labourers or land-owners, and the produce of this, it is—chiefly wheat, barley, and cotton—that, with wool, raw hides, and sesame swell the annual shipments to about 310,000*l.* The soil is almost everywhere so marvellously fertile that manure, instead of being used, is *burned*, and yet the yield of all the crops grown is exceptionally large. Profitable, however, though the industry thus is, less than half the arable land of the province is under cultivation, the remainder lying fallow for lack of hands or enterprise to till it. As almost the whole, too, lies in the splendid belt of valley between the Taurus and the sea, even in the absence of good roads its produce is still within practicable reach of nearly a dozen little ports along this part of the coast, from

Alaya westwards to Ayas on the Gulf of Scandaroon. The chief port of the vilayet is Mersina, from which a fairly good road has been made as far as Tarsus, but its continuation thence to Adana scarcely deserves the name. The imports of the province exceed 900,000*l.*, of which about 200,000*l.* represent British goods; other Turkish ports, Egypt and Switzerland supplying most of the remainder, in the order stated. Its exports average about 300,000*l.* and its inland trade about 35,000*l.*

Crossing the imaginary boundary line that separates Asia Minor from Armenia, ERZEROUM is perhaps the most important commercial centre of this latter now much reduced province. It owes this distinction, however, rather to the large Persian traffic that flows through it to and from Trebizond than to any activity of its own. In fact, but for this vivifying current, the town—capital of a once great province though it be—would be one of the deadest, as it is residentially the least attractive, in all this part of Turkey. For military purposes, great outlay may convert it into another Plevna, and so compensate for the loss of Kars, but nothing short of a combination of roads, railways, and administrative revolution will make it a prosperous seat of domestic trade. The conversion of the old mule-track to Trebizond into a practicable road not only recovered a portion of the Persian caravan traffic which the facilities offered by the Poti-Tiflis railway had diverted into Georgia, but also for a time gave a fillip to the export of produce from the

surrounding districts. But the disrepair into which the road has been allowed to fall—rendering its present condition during winter little better than that of twenty years ago—has again told against both, and the latest available information reports the trade of Erzeroum, both transit and local, as depressed even beyond what might be expected from the disturbing effects of the late war. As both, however, are merged in that of its port, TREBIZOND, I need say nothing as to their special details.

This latter town, besides being the capital and immediate outlet of a large vilayet, is the natural emporium of the whole of Upper Armenia, from Kars eastwards to Diarbekir in the west; but the change of frontier consequent on the late war will doubtless considerably narrow the area of its commercial relations. The harbour consists of two small ports, east and west, of a projecting spit of land, neither of which affords good shelter in bad weather, during which large vessels are obliged to run for refuge to the roadstead of Platana, seven miles to the west. Besides the transit traffic with Persia, the local trade of the province itself is considerable, including exports of boxwood, tobacco, nuts, beans, wheat, galls, hides, goat-skins, and mohair from the neighbourhood of Van, and the districts south-west as far as Diarbekir. Of the first of these, forests of nearly 1,000 square miles exist throughout the vilayet, but the tax levied on exportation is so heavy as to be virtually prohibitory. Thus, while in the forest, the wood is

worth only four piastres (about 8*d.*) per cwt., the cost of transport raises it to twenty piastres at Trebizond, and on *this latter* value a tax of twenty per cent is levied,—or, in other words, of 100 per cent. on the produce value of the wood. Instead, therefore, of a large trade in this abundant article being encouraged, it is kept at less than a tenth of what might be its extent by this suicidal scale of taxation. Tobacco is also grown in great abundance throughout the province, but similar fiscal misjudgment discourages what might otherwise be a large and profitable trade in it. Considerable shipments of wheat are made to Constantinople, but the cost of transport from the interior, added to higher freights than from the Danube, makes any effective competition with the latter impossible. Though maize, too, figures in the entries outward, the grain so exported is nearly all brought in sailing coasters from Odessa and reshipped here for the Bosphorus, the actual produce of this crop grown in the province barely sufficing for local consumption. Nuts and beans, however, are grown and exported in large quantities, chiefly to the United States. Of mohair, (*tiftik*), between 4,000 and 5,000 bales are annually shipped to Constantinople, and are there bought for export to England by agents of Bradford firms. Both the transit and domestic trade of the port fluctuate greatly, but on an average of the past four or five years the total exports may be stated at about 1,200,000*l.*, of which 450,000*l.* represents

local produce, and 750,000*l.* Persian goods, of which respectively England takes about 95,000*l.* and 105,000*l.*; while the gross imports range about 2,750,000*l.*, comprising nearly 900,000*l.* for the province and other districts of the interior, and 1,850,000*l.* for Persia. Of the former (of these import totals) nearly two-thirds, of the latter three-fourths, come from England, with which a much larger trade might be maintained if only the heavy handicap of the present transport charges to and from the sea were removed, or even considerably reduced.

Formerly the capital of an eyalet, but now only the chief town of a sanjak in the vilayet of Diarbekir, KHARPOUT, with a population of about 11,000, is still a place of much industrial and commercial importance from the great mineral and agricultural wealth of its surrounding districts. The splendid plain overlooking the city from the eminence on which it stands is one of the most fertile and densely inhabited in Asia Minor; villages studding it at intervals of every mile or two, and the space between them everywhere groaning under orchards and the richest crops of cotton and grain. The neighbourhood is indeed so over-populated that large numbers annually migrate to Aleppo, Egypt, and Constantinople in search of employment, leaving still abundant hands to work the copper and silver mines of Arghana and the Keban-mâden, and to cultivate the varied agricultural resources of the sanjak with a result that might be enriching if, here again, the universal obstacle to

prosperous industry and trade—the difficulty of transport to a maritime outlet—did not cripple both.[1] But besides this drawback, the conditions under which both these potentially splendid mines are worked are, as I have remarked elsewhere, such as to preclude a tithe of their legitimate profit being reaped either by the Government or those engaged in raising the ore. Agriculture, however, is the staple industry, and from the fertility of the land and the abundance of labour, yields large crops of wheat, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco, opium, and nearly every kind of fruit. Besides these, silk, linseed, butter, wine, madder, yellowberries, tragacanth, cotton wool, mohair, common goat's hair, and dyed skins, figure in the exports to Erzeroum, Aleppo, and Constantinople, for a gross total of about 140,000*l.*, against imports worth about 25,000*l.*, consisting chiefly of colonials, chintz, watches, cotton cloths, and other manufactured goods, leaving a large balance of trade in favour of Kharpout.

Though long fallen from its ancient importance as the Roman Amida, DIARBEKIR itself, the administrative and commercial capital of Kurdistan, is still one of the chief cities of Asiatic Turkey, and the centre of a considerable, though within the past forty years a greatly reduced, trade. It stands on an elevated plateau in a bend of the Tigris, on the right bank of the river, and is enclosed by a well

[1] Camel carriage of the smelted copper from Arghana to the refineries at Tocat—about 200 miles—costs 10*l.* a ton.

preserved turreted wall nearly five miles in circumference. A century ago, its population numbered about 150,000, but has now dwindled to less than a third of that number, of whom one-half are Mussulmans, and the remainder Jews and Christians of four or five different sects. The central situation of the town at the convergence of the great routes from Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, and northern Syria, and its position on the Tigris at the point where the river first becomes available for water transit to Mosul, Baghdad, and the Persian Gulf, eminently fit it for being a great commercial emporium; but the difficulties of transport, through lack of roads, largely neutralise these advantages, and keep its trade at a mere fraction of what it might be. Still, as nearly all the exported produce of middle and upper Kurdistan finds its first market here, the trade of the town even now is large, and within the past three or four years has shown signs of revival. The chief products of the province available for external commerce are wool, mohair, galls, cotton, orpiment, and wax. The first of these articles is supplied partly by the Bedoween tribes of the Shammar, Fedaan, and the pastoral Tai, who feed their flocks anywhere between Mardin and Baghdad, and partly by the mountain Kurds of the south-east. The Arab wool (called *auaz*, to distinguish it from the Kurdish fleece) is much finer than the latter. Above 600 tons of it find their way annually to Diarbekir, and about 250 tons of the Kurdish clips, nearly the whole of

which is sent to Aleppo and Alexandretta for shipment to France and Austria. The mohair, of which about seventy tons are annually exported—also nearly all to Austria and France—is the produce of goats reared and pastured chiefly round Jezireh. Its quality is greatly inferior to the *tiftik* of Angora, being less silky and shorter in staple. The whole yield of the province averages about 120 tons, of which fifty, consisting of the less valuable red and black hairs, are retained for home weaving into the native cloaks called *abbas*, which are worn indiscriminately by all classes. Galls are found throughout nearly all the mountains of the province, but the best grow in the Bohtan district, five days north-east of Diarbekir. The total collection averages about 500 tons, of which 200 go to England, and the rest —barring the red variety, which is sent to Baghdad for Persia—to Marseilles. Cotton ranks low among the products, and lower still among the exports, of the province—its quality being bad, and growers lacking both the enterprise and encouragement to improve and extend the cultivation. Here, as everywhere else, it received a fillip during the American War, but since then it has been much neglected, and only about 700 tons a year are available for export—nearly all to France. There are, however, vast tracts in the vilayet admirably adapted for its production, but the cost of transport to the sea leaves so small a margin of profit, that, till this has been greatly reduced by railways, or at least by good

roads, the present growth is not likely to be much increased. Orpiment of excellent quality exists in abundance, and is worked on a small scale for Government account, in mines in the Hakkari district. Only a small quantity, however, finds its way to Europe but a considerable exportation is made to Mosul and Baghdad for local use. Wax is largely produced from the honey raised in the northern districts, but the combs are so carelessly separated, that the quality of the wax is injured and, after supplying material for the coarse candles largely used in churches, mosques, and at the festivals of all classes, but little remains for export. Besides these contributions to foreign trade, a considerable home business is done in oil, madder roots, textile fabrics, morocco leather, and fruits, which are sent in quantities limited only by the cost of carriage, to Van, Erzeroum, Mosul, Baghdad, and Aleppo, for native consumption. In connection with this branch of trade it may be mentioned that a *kellek*, or skin-raft down the Tigris, carrying about 3½ tons weight, takes in spring about five days, and in autumn from fifteen to twenty-five days, between Diarbekir and Mosul, costing about 7*l.* 10*s.*, or, if continued to Baghdad, about 12*l.* for the trip. On an average about 300 of these rafts go as far as Jezireh, 600 to Mosul, and 200 to Baghdad, annually, from Diarbekir. By mule or camel the cost is, of course, much higher. To Erzeroum or Samsoun, the mule charge averages 16*l.* a ton, and to Aleppo about 14*l.*

—rates which, it need hardly be said, are virtually prohibitory of export trade except in a few special articles. Against all these exports, the imports of the province—which also nearly all pass through Diarbekir—average about 115,000*l.* a year, of which more than three-fourths come from England, and the remainder from France, Russia, and Persia.

MOSUL, the capital of a sanjak of the vilayet of Baghdad,[1] attracts to itself most of the trade of middle Mesopotamia and Eastern Kurdistan, but its distance from the sea, and the consequent cost of transport to the Gulf or the Mediterranean, narrows this to a point far below the commercial potentiality of a city so advantageously situated—on a great river and almost in the centre of a district surpassed in capacity of production by no other of equal extent anywhere east of the Dardanelles. It stands on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite Nineveh—with which it is connected by a crazy but picturesque bridge of boats—and is enclosed by a turreted stone wall, worthless as against artillery, but proof against the spears and matchlocks of the Bedoween, who some years ago used to make frequent forays up to the very gates. The present population numbers about 40,000, of whom nearly two-thirds are Moslems—Turks, Arabs, and Kurds—and the remainder Chaldæan, Jacobite, and Syrian Christians, and Jews.

[1] As stated in a previous foot-note, Mosul has been quite recently erected into a separate vilayet, raising the number of these governments east of the Bosphorus to, in all, nineteen.

The whole area of the sanjak is nearly 12,000 square miles, but the settled population is only about 500,000, of whom the great majority are Sooni Mussulmans, and the rest Christians of half-a-dozen different sects, with a few Jews. The staple agricultural produce of the province is wheat and barley, and though the husbandry is here as everywhere else of the rudest, the yield of both is so abundant as, in the present practical impossibility of exporting it, to hardly repay the cost of cultivation. Thus a piastre or a piastre and a half a day will feed a whole Arab family on the excellent thin flap bread, and (according to the season) the huge cucumbers, melons, or onions, that grow in rank abundance along the low Assyrian bank of the river between Nineveh and the Tigris, and which, washed down by sour milk, form the staple food of the fellaheen. With easily restored means of irrigation, and railway communication north and southwards, Mesopotamia might indeed become the granary of both Europe and India at rates with which few other fields of supply could compete. As it is, the export of cereals is commercially impossible, and the other chief products of the region are only marketable because affording a slightly better margin to cover transport cost. Yet, while the only means of water carriage to the Gulf is still, as in the days of Sennacherib, by raft as far as Baghdad, the Tigris is navigable for steamers and large cargo boats up to Mosul, except at one point near Nimroud—twenty miles below the

latter city—where a ledge extends across the river bed which the outlay of a few thousand pounds would easily remove. Messrs. Lynch and Co., the enterprising English firm who have so long held first rank among the foreign houses at Baghdad, and whose steamers now ply between the latter city and Bussora, have, I believe, offered to clear away the obstruction if allowed to extend their service up to Mosul, but—incredible as the statement might be of any other Government than the Porte—the offer has been refused, and middle and upper Mesopotamia remain, therefore, quite as practically shut out from the Indian as from the European markets. The local manufactures of Mosul are now confined to cotton clothes and soap, which find a sale in the neighbouring villages, whilst gall-nuts from the Kurdish hills, and wool brought in by the pastoral Arabs and Kurds, are almost the only exports from the province.

The partial possession, however, of what Mosul thus wholly lacks, makes BAGHDAD a trade centre of nearly first-class importance. Steam communication with the Gulf, and so with India and Europe, affords a ready outlet for all the produce that can be profitably sent to it from Turkish Arabia, and south-western Persia, and makes it in turn the chief distributing depôt, whence the same districts receive their foreign goods. This great element of prosperity, however, is little more than fifteen years old. At that time a solitary steamer used to make a voyage once in six weeks between Bombay and Bussora,

between which latter and Baghdad, also only one small Government boat ran at unfixed intervals, while the whole of the goods traffic was carried on in country sailing-boats. The arrival of Midhat Pasha, however, as vali of the province, was soon followed by the placing of a couple of other Turkish boats on the river, and Messrs. Lynch and Co., having about the same time obtained leave to supplement these with steamers of their own, founded the Tigris and Euphrates Steam Navigation Company, and placed two fast boats on the line. One of these was subsequently lost by striking a sunken wreck in the river, but she was soon replaced by a larger and more powerful vessel, to which a third has since been added, and for some years past, these steamers have maintained a regular passenger and cargo service between Baghdad and Bussora, in correspondence with weekly sailings of the British Indian Steam Navigation Company to and from Bombay, and with a fortnightly line of the same Company to and from London, *viâ* Kurachee. Besides these Tigris steamers of Messrs. Lynch, the Government boats of the river have been increased to six (in addition to a small despatch boat belonging to the British Residency), nine in all now plying between Baghdad and its Gulf port. The trade, however, has so grown, that it would supply work for several more; but the Porte—financially unable to increase its own flotilla, and jealous of foreign competition—has, with doubtful treaty right, refused

Messrs. Lynch and Co. permission to add to the number of their boats. Similar official obstacles are opposed to the navigation of the Euphrates, which might be readily ascended by one of the Tigris steamers as far as Hillah, or even up to Birejik by boats of lighter draught. But here again the obstructive apathy of the Porte stops the way, and the considerable trade that might be developed in the Euphrates Valley is thus lost to the country. In common with nearly every other part of the empire, Baghdad suffered greatly from the drain of men and money occasioned by the late war, and this, superadded to other causes of depression, seriously affected the trade of the province. Up to less than a dozen years ago, the yearly stream of Persian pilgrims to the tombs of Hussein and Ali at Kerbela and Nedjef, west of the Euphrates, contributed much to the commercial movement, as the great majority of the 130,000 or 140,000 Shiites who annually visited these shrines, and brought with them many other thousands of their dead relatives for burial in the soil made holy by the ashes of the martyred grandson of the Prophet, also brought merchandise to sell at Baghdad or Kerbela, and took back with them other goods in exchange, much to the profit of the Turkish markets—over and beyond the money left in the country by so large a yearly influx and reflux of travellers. But under real or affected fear of cholera, the Turkish authorities nine or ten years ago imposed a host

of vexatious and costly régulations, which caused the Persian Government—always ready to catch at an excuse for quarrelling with the Porte—to prohibit the pilgrimage altogether. For some years, therefore, Persian piety perforce contented itself with visiting the native shrine of Imâm Riza at Meshed, and the trade thus lost to Baghdad was diverted to Tiflis and the Caspian, through which Russian, instead of British, goods were supplied. But during the past two or three years, the prohibition has been either less rigidly enforced, or less regarded, and the major sanctity of Kerbela and Nedjef has begun to re-attract pious Iranis, dead and alive, in large numbers—to the corresponding return of the old pilgrim trade to its former channel. Partial recovery has also been made from the blow given to a leading local staple—wool—by the competition, for the first time a couple of years ago, of Australian wool, which suddenly knocked down the price of the Turco-Arabian article, and for one season nearly altogether suspended its export, as the Bedoween growers refused to believe in the sudden cause of depression and to abate their prices to meet it. But this has since been done, and the staple is now again shipped as before. Last year's returns, therefore, reflect a general improvement all round, the imports into the province having risen from 275,000*l.* for 1876-7 to 452,000*l.*[1] for 1877-8, and

[1] Besides the British goods included in this total, other consignments find their way in through Bussora, Alexandria, and

the exports from 208,000*l.* to 295,000*l.* for the same periods. The former comprise piece-goods, glass-ware, saddlery, hardware, wearing-apparel, drugs, and colonials from the United Kingdom and India; most of the same from Russia; and raw silk, carpets, tobacco, oil, honey, bee's-wax, cotton wool, Kerman shawls, silk stuffs, goat's-hair twist, leather, dyed calico, and pearls from Persia: while the latter include printed chintzes and kerchiefs, wool, dates, wheat, rice, galls, dressed lamb-skins, hides, gum, hardware, bitumen, carpets, drugs, ebony combs, powdered logwood, and saltpetre. Of these exported goods, most of the wool goes to France to be worked into carpets: it is, as I have said, nearly all supplied by the pastoral Arabs, and varies greatly in quality and price, the best and dearest being grown by the Beni-Lama and Montefik tribes of the south-western desert. The gall-nuts and gum are gathered round Sulemaniah and Rowanduz, and are both of better quality than those of Asia Minor. Cotton hardly figures at all among the exports, as although most of the rich alluvial soil throughout the province is well adapted for its cultivation, it is but little grown, and what is produced is so badly cleaned as to be unfit for the European markets. Little grain also is shipped from the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdad, the spread of the vast lagoon formed by the flood-waters of the Euphrates having reduced the area on which chiefly

Beyrout, which are only registered at their original place of entry.

cereals were formerly grown; but wheat is still more than abundant for local consumption, and excellent bread nearly as cheap, therefore, as at Mosul. Imperfectly developed, however, as are its resources, the province yields a large yearly surplus of revenue over expenditure, which might be vastly increased if its trade and industries received proper administrative care. Of the city of Baghdad itself, I need merely add, that its present population numbers about 90,000, of whom some 70,000 are Mussulmans (a majority Shiites), 18,000 Jews (mostly descendants of the Captivity), and the small remainder for the most part Armenian Christians. Nearly all the banking business is in the hands of the Jews, and most of the commerce and petty industries in those of the Christians. In wealth, architecture, and population, Baghdad has vastly declined since the days of "good Haroun Alraschid;" but within recent years it has recovered much of its former prosperity, and needs only railway communication north and south to become one of the greatest commercial centres, not alone of Turkey, but of all Western Asia. As seen, too, from the crazy bridge of boats that spans the Tigris and connects the city proper with its great suburb on the western bank, it is still one of the most orientally picturesque towns in the East

With a population of only about 9,000, BUSSORA, up to a few years ago a dependency of Baghdad, was, with a view to conciliate the troublesome and powerful tribe

of the Montefik Arabs, who dominate the southern half of the province, erected into a separate vilayet with Bussora for its capital and Nassir, the chief Sheikh of the tribe—with the title of Pasha—as its first governor-general. The Sheikh-Pasha, however, was not a success, and after three years' experiment of his rule, he was replaced by a Kurd, who probably outbid him at Stamboul for the post. The town lies on the western bank of the Shat-el-Arab (the united Tigris and Euphrates), 284 miles as the crow flies, but 500 miles by river, below Baghdad, and about eighty above Bushire on the Gulf. The soil of the province, where not swamped by the overflow from the river, is everywhere of the richest alluvial fertility, and with a minimum of cultivation yields in teeming abundance almost every sort of agricultural produce except cotton, which is equally neglected as around Baghdad. Grain is largely shipped to India and the eastern coast of the Red Sea, but the staple product is *dates*, of which nearly 35,000 tons are annually gathered, and about 27,000 tons exported to England and the United States, the remainder being locally consumed. The other principal exports are wool, hides, and lambskins, which altogether raise the shipments outwards to about 90,000*l.* a year, against imports of nearly 320,000*l.*, of which less than 60,000*l.* come from Persia and other ports on the Gulf, and the remainder from India and Great Britain. It is needless to here again remark on the great development the trade

of Bussora also would receive from railway communication with Europe.[1]

Turning north-west, and following the line of the Euphrates valley up the long course of that river, we pass hardly a town or even village worth the name—except perhaps Hillah, a few miles below the latitude of Baghdad—till we reach Birejik, the point at which the caravan route crosses from Mesopotamia into Northern Syria, and leads to ALEPPO, the capital of this great vilayet, and commercially also of south-eastern Asia Minor as far as Macash, or even Malatia. The situation of this city gives it a first rank among the emporia of these Asiatic provinces, but has not availed to save it from marked decadence during the past thirty or forty years. Its trade, though still considerable, now mainly consists in feeding the wants and exporting the produce of more distant districts, including, besides those of Asia Minor just mentioned, the upper basins of both the Tigris and Euphrates as far south respectively as Mosul and Halebi, or even Annah. Thus Aleppine textile fabrics, once so famous throughout the East for the brilliancy and durability of their colours,

[1] As my own travel did not extend below Baghdad, I am unable to describe Bussora and the country round it from personal recollection, and can merely therefore say, at second hand, that it lies back from the river, with which it is connected by a canal or creek three miles long. Midhat Pasha began a scheme of building which will in time bring the business centre of the town down to the river and greatly facilitate trade. My facts and figures as to its commerce are mainly taken from the latest reports of the British vice-consul.

have been largely supplanted by much inferior but cheaper European goods, which even in the province itself damagingly compete with the produce of the native looms. Some 4,000 of these (all hand-worked) are, however, still employed in the production of various stuffs—of a total annual value of about 150,000*l.*—that find a market in the small towns bordering on the desert, and especially at the great yearly fairs at Zillah, Taprakli, and other central stations in Asia Minor. The manufacture of gold and silver thread for use in the more costly fabrics is still a local speciality, employing some twenty-five or thirty workshops of half-a-dozen hands each. The same outlets that supply a market to the woven stuffs take also most of a yearly produce of soap worth about 30,000*l.* Other miscellaneous articles swell the gross earnings of these Aleppine industries to a recent average of 240,000*l.* a year. The province is rich in most fertile land, but its husbandry is everywhere of the rudest type, and the produce is consequently little more than a third of what better cultivation might give. Wheat is the chief crop throughout the vilayet, barley, rice, tobacco, cotton, and millet ranking next in the order mentioned; galls, yellow berries, and madder-roots are also grown, and give, with the preceding, a total annual yield worth about 900,000*l.* The latest official estimate states the trade of the whole province at 2,190,000*l.*, of which imports represented about 1,200,000*l.*, and exports 990,000*l.* This is

less than the total of some recent years, but still indicates a large advance on the commercial movement of the province a dozen years ago.

Though ALEXANDRETTA cannot be called a trade centre, its importance as the port of Aleppo, and of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, generally entitles it to mention in this connection. Situated in nearly the extreme north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, and sheltered all round except on its sea front by mountains, it is the best natural harbour on the coast of Syria, and, in spite of its own miserable site on a fever-breeding swamp—that needs however only drainage to be made healthy—attracts a large current of trade. The excess of its imports over its exports supplies another of the many illustrations offered all over the empire, of the loss inflicted on its producing industries by the lack of roads to the sea. Thus, while the former averages 1,400,000*l.*, a year, the movement outward—comprising wheat, castor-oil seed, tobacco, wool, gall-nuts, yellowberries, silk stuffs, cocoons, carpets, leather, hides, metals, soap, and some other articles—is only about 880,000*l.* Of the imports, a third comes from Great Britain, chiefly in the form of manufactured goods: of the exports, France takes about 300,000*l.*, England 90,000*l.*, Egypt 200,000*l.*, and Austria and Italy most of the remainder. With a good carriageable road—or, still better, a railway—to Aleppo and Birejik, the averment is a safe one that

in a single decade the exports from this port might be trebled.

With a population of 30,000, HAMAH—seventy miles north-east of the little port of Tripoli, but only forty in direct line from the sea—is the most active and thriving industrial centre in all this division. It manufactures a variety of cotton, silk, woollen, and goat's-hair goods, the first of which, especially, are in great request throughout Syria and Asia Minor for sheets, napkins, tablecloths, towels, and underclothing; besides making large quantities of rude clothes, and camp, camel, and horse furniture for the Bedoween, who barter for these wool, sheep, and other products of desert industry. The surrounding district is also rich in the finest pasture and crop land, but the population is sparse, and cultivation consequently very partial. Still, it produces a considerable surplus of butter, grain, and wool, which find a market at Tripoli—after a five days' journey over a track of only threescore and ten miles. Next after Beyrout, this may be regarded as the most improving town in Syria.

Up till twenty years ago DAMASCUS—the oldest as it is in situation the most beautiful of Eastern cities—was the seat of a considerable trade, and of a still more thriving manufacture of brocaded and other stuffs, which gave it rank among the chief industrial cities of the empire. The civil wars in the Lebanon and the massacres in the city itself in 1860 struck the first blow at its prosperity, and nine years later the

opening of the Suez Canal virtually extinguished the old overland traffic with Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, while the competition of India and China in silk and sesame seed, also through the Isthmus, has had nearly as depreciating an effect on the export value of those products as the discovery of alazarine on the cultivation of madder, of which large quantities were formerly shipped to Europe. Pilgrims were also attracted away to the easier and cheaper sea route; large numbers of pilgrims, who, to the great profit of the city, had previously made Damascus their point of arrival and departure for the yearly *hadj* to Mecca. The extension of the conscription in a larger proportion than was formerly usual in Syria, has also greatly thinned the adult male population, and so injuriously affected productive industry in all the settled districts of the province. The especial drain of men and money—in forced loans and extra taxes—during the late war may be said to have completed the depression occasioned by these previous causes,—with the cumulative result that Damascus has now reached a point of economical decadence unexampled, perhaps, in its long and eventful history.[1] The excellent road constructed

[1] Vice-Consul Jago, whose reports are among the very best annually published by the Foreign Office, thus describes the situation at the end of 1877, since which there has been little or no improvement: "House rent has declined thirty to fifty per cent., and large numbers of empty shops and houses in every part of the city testify to the general decline. It is difficult to depict the misery which abounds on every side, or to discover in what

by a French company over the Lebanon to Beyrout afforded such facilities for goods and passenger transport as are enjoyed nowhere else in the empire out of western Asia Minor; but against so many causes of depression, the best of railways would have been powerless to stimulate trade. The present population of Damascus is about 150,000, of whom nearly 20,000 are Christians of various sects, some 5,000 Jews, and the remainder Turks, Arabs, and other Moslems.

What Trebizond is to Erzeroum and Persia, BEYROUT—with a mixed population of 65,000—is to all central Syria, and, till the virtual cessation of the desert transport from Damascus, was to Baghdad and the provinces beyond it abutting on the Gulf. Its loss, however, by this diversion of

manner the greater portion of the inhabitants manage to subsist. Household effects and articles of value have long ago been disposed of, and a loan of even a few pounds is an impossibility, even among the so-called rich. The streets are filled with beggars, both Moslem and Christian, and that too in a city where eighteen months ago a beggar was a rarity. . . . . Debts are no longer paid, the present circumstances being held as an all-sufficient excuse for deferring payment. Meanwhile old bills are renewed with fifteen to eighteen per cent. interest added, and as the financial class is almost without exception heavily indebted to the other, the settlement of this large amount of indebtedness will be attended with difficulty when the proper time for such is held to have arrived. . . . In the agricultural districts matters are also very bad, credit with the money lenders having long been cut off, owing to the encouragement given to the peasantry to withhold payment of their old obligations in view of the more pressing demands of the Government upon them."

the Babylonian and West Persian traffic into other channels has been more than recouped by the attraction within recent years of much of the local trade that formerly filtered through the smaller ports along the coast, and by the increased commercial activity generally throughout Syria, saving only in its capital. It now forms, in fact, the centre of trade and finance for the whole of this division. As a harbour, however, it labours under the disadvantage of being little better than an open roadstead, exposed to the full force of the frequent west and north-west winds. The ancient port to the south-west of the present anchorage afforded better shelter, but this has long been choked up, and of the extensive works in connection with it only a ruinous pier or causeway now remains. A few years ago, urged by the foreign merchants who offered to contribute to the cost, the local authorities framed a scheme for clearing out and utilizing this old port, but nothing came of it, and the old difficulties and risks of shipping and landing goods still continue. The exports now exceed an average of 550,000*l.* a year, and comprise silk, wool, skins, sponges, rags, and various other produce, nearly the whole of which go to England and France; but the imports more than double these in value, and consist almost entirely of manufactured English and German goods. Besides this foreign commerce, a considerable coasting traffic is carried on in timber, firewood, charcoal, and straw. Though not in any way an element of local trade,

allusion may here be made to the fine municipal waterworks erected here four years ago by an English Company, as an illustration of the perils of adventuring foreign capital while Turkish law—and especially its administration—remains what it is. Though carried out under a firman of the Porte, and a special contract with the local municipality, this fine work—which brings an abundant and much needed supply of water from the Nahr-el-Kelb (Dog River), nine miles north of the town—has thus far proved a commercial failure, through the bad faith of the authorities and the impossibility of legally enforcing the rights of the company. I might also have instanced the case of the Smyrna Gas-works, erected under nearly similar conditions, as equally supporting the warning given in a previous chapter against such investments, till very radical administrative reform has made them as safe as they might otherwise be profitable. In fair play to Turkey, however, the experience of the Odessa Water-works company should not be forgotten, as a much grosser example of administrative fraud than either of these Turkish cases, and of fraud, too, compromising not merely subordinate provincial authorities, but high functionaries in St. Petersburg itself.

Except as the capital of Palestine, JERUSALEM hardly merits mention in this connection, being, as it is, the least commercial and industrial, as also one of the deadest and dirtiest of Turkish cities. Of its population of 18,000, nearly a third are Moslems,

about 8,000 Jews, and the remainder mostly Christians of the Greek rite. Its only industries are soap-boiling, which yields an export of about 6,000*l.* a year nearly all to Egypt, and the manufacture of what is called "Jerusalem ware," in which the neighbouring small town of Bethlehem largely shares—comprising crucifixes, chaplets, beads, crosses, and other religious tokens made of the local olive wood and mother-of-pearl. Of these about 5,000*l.* worth is exported or sold to the 8,000 or 9,000 pilgrims who annually flock to the Holy City at Easter time from all parts of Eastern Christendom, but more especially from Russia. Olive oil and grain are the only other exports with which the city and its immediate neighbourhood can be credited. The trade, however, that passes through Jaffa—its port, and the chief one indeed for all Palestine—is considerable, and would no doubt be much larger if its rock-dotted roadstead were converted into a moderately safe harbour. The difficulties of approaching the town at all closely are now such, that frequently during winter even steamers can neither land nor receive goods of passengers, but are forced to carry both to Beyrout or Port Saïd, as the case may be. Still, under all disadvantages, its exports exceed 200,000*l.* a year—consisting chiefly of cereals, cotton, sesame, olive oil, soap, wool, hides, oranges, rags, and other sundries; while it imports 119,000*l.* worth of rice, colonials, cotton goods, petroleum, wine, and timber. The balance of trade is thus about 10,000*l.* a year in

favour of the province. The population of Jaffa itself is about 15,000—nearly two-thirds Moslems, and the rest Christians with a few hundred Jews. Its splendid orange-groves—yielding annually about 32,000,000 of magnificent fruit—are one of the sights of Palestine, and when the wind blows inland scent the air for miles away over the plain of Sharon towards Ramleh. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the old mule track to Jerusalem was some years ago improved into a fairly carriageable road, but the work was so badly done and has since been so neglected, that the hilly part of the route is now again nearly as break-neck as when the twenty miles from the Ramleh convent to the Jaffa gate on Mount Zion used to form a long and hard day's journey. The project of a railway has been several times mooted, and even a concession for the scheme granted, but as it lacks nearly all the commercial elements of success, mere sentiment has as yet failed to carry it over the financial dead-point, and will probably continue so to fail till another and richer Ezra—this time from the Main or the Thames—leads back a still larger following of the Tribes, buys out the Turk, and restores the long eclipsed national glory in the person of some modern Maccabee. Till then, neither Jerusalem nor Jaffa is likely to count for much in the commerce of the Levant.

Passing from the mainland to the Archipelago, the chief centre of insular trade is found at RHODES, which is also the administrative capital of the Jezaïr

vilayet. When I say that *sponges* form the principal staple of this, the comparative unimportance of the whole will be apparent. The fishing for these, however, gives employment to a large number of hands from the various islands—Rhodes itself, Syria, and Calymnos being those most engaged in the industry; and this branch of trade, therefore, tops all the rest in local interest. Calymnos alone employs in it 300 boats; Syria fewer but larger craft, with many more divers and rowers. The fishing grounds extend all round the coasts of Caramania, Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, Syria, and Benghazi and Mandruha on the African seaboard—which give their names in commerce to the respective produce of their fisheries. The introduction within the past few years of the use of diving apparatus has greatly increased the yield, but more to the gain of the middlemen who supply the dress, and are in many cases mortgagees of the boats, than of the actual hands engaged. The best quality of the article is fished off Rhodes, the next off Mandruha, and then Syria, Benghazi, and Crete, in the order named, though in each case only a proportion of the whole is of the finer sort. Though Rhodes is the centre of this particular trade, large quantities of the article are also sent from the respective islands engaged in the industry direct to Smyrna, partly in their own sailing-boats, and partly by the steamers of an English company (Bell's), which now touch weekly at all the larger members of the group. Great Britain

supplies an ultimate market for the best qualities, France and Italy for those of second-class size and fineness, and Austria chiefly for the inferior kinds. Besides this speciality of the insular trade, Rhodes also exports valonea, cocoons, olives, bark, sesame seed, fruit, wine, and wheat—partly of local growth and partly from other islands and the neighbouring mainland—to a total average value of about 160,000*l.* a year. The imports to, or rather through, the island nearly equal these exports, and the trade of the group therefore is almost balanced. Here, again, as on the mainland, British goods hold a first place in the merchandise received and distributed for insular consumption.

Internationally unimportant as is this trade of the Archipelago, that of the Turkish ports on the Red Sea is still less so, except perhaps in the single instance of DJEDDA. This, which is the immediate port of Mecca, is also the chief *entrepôt* on the coast for the trade of India and Egypt with Western Arabia. The town is situated at the bottom of a bay, about 30 miles from Mecca and 650 from Suez. Coral formations have so shoaled the shore that large vessels cannot anchor nearer than a couple of miles out from the jetty, and all goods have, therefore, to be shipped and landed by the slow and costly means of lighters. The only regular steam communication is with Suez by the Egyptian Government line, whose vessels touch here fortnightly on their way to and from

Souakim and Massowah, on the opposite coast; but English steamers from Calcutta and Bombay also make frequent voyages during the year, and there is a large traffic of native sailing craft with all the ports on both sides of the Red Sea. During the Hadj season, more than 40,000 pilgrims from India, Batavia, Singapore, and the Persian Gulf, are annually brought and reshipped, mostly by large sailing vessels, besides 60,000 or 70,000 more who come, *viâ* Suez, from Egypt, Turkey, and the Barbary States. Nearly the whole—as also the crowds who make the pilgrimage by land—combine trade with piety, and bring with them every sort of merchandise for sale or exchange at the great fair held at Mecca during the religious celebration. It is estimated that above 500,000*l.* worth of goods change hands during what may be called this busy month's "mission." Of the 100,000 or more who thus yearly pass and repass through Djedda, all, either as dealers or customers, contribute something to its commercial activity. But besides this, it carries on during the rest of the year a relatively considerable trade with India and both coasts of the Red Sea, to which it sends dates, henna, wool, abaye for cloaks, black coral, called *yousr*, gathered on the coast, and made into strings of beads for the pilgrims, and combs of black wood, which are still more useful to the hadjis than the beads. In return, it receives from India cinnamon, incense, ivory, spices, rice, tea, sugar, silks, gold, and pearls; and

from the coast villages, and even those of the Nejd, cotton, musk, cocoa-nuts, gall-nuts, sandal wood, building timber, and various other articles, the whole considerably in excess of its local exports. As previously mentioned, Christians may not approach Mecca nearer than about fifteen miles inland of Djedda, and their trade beyond that line is therefore wholly transacted through Moslem agents. The place is now a sort of penal station for our consular service, the member of which who for the time has—for good reasons or bad—the blackest mark against his name at the F. O., is relegated hither to expiate his offence on 600*l.* a year.

The other ports along this coast are Yembo, Konfoudah, Lobeïa, Hodeida, and Mocha; but none of the whole, except perhaps the last, is of any commercial importance. Yembo, north of Djedda, is the port of Medina, but, having little trade and a bad anchorage, it is seldom visited by foreign ships. Konfoudah, which is nearly opposite Souakim, trades almost exclusively with Djedda, and its only local produce is gunpowder, which, though of the worst quality, fetches a high price among the Bedoween and mountaineers of the interior. Lobeïa similarly confines its traffic to Djedda, to which it sends coffee and *dhoura*, the favourite grain of the coast. Hodeida, with 25,000 inhabitants, is of more importance, which it mainly owes to its relations with Mocha, and its share in the export of the famous

coffee to which the latter gives its name. Besides the berry, it ships wax, leather, ivory, gum, and other produce of a total yearly value of nearly 350,000*l.* Within the past dozen or fifteen years, the trade of Mocha itself, the southernmost of these small Arabian ports, has much decreased. As is well known in Mark Lane, the "Mocha" now current in the coffee market comes from many other countries than Arabia; the whole crop of the berry from this famous district is, in fact, limited to the produce of the narrow strip of coast—nowhere broader than sixty miles inland—between Mocha and Hodeida, and does not now exceed 80,000*l.* a year in value. Of Sana, the administrative capital of Yemen and former residence of the Imaum, which lies inland of Hodeida, it need merely be said that its once flourishing trade with Persia and India has now almost died out, though it retains a population of about 40,000, all Mussulmans of the most bigotted type. The town still preserves some striking architectural features; its baths, mosques, and some other public buildings ranking among the finest of their kind in Arabia. A massive aqueduct supplies it with water from the Nikam mountains, and inscriptions of great archæological interest are said to abound on much older remains in the neighbourhood. The fanaticism of the inhabitants has, however, hitherto rendered approach to the place by foreigners almost as difficult as that to Mecca and Medina; and the isolation thus enforced has within the present century reduced the town to nearly as

great a state of commercial atrophy as the holy cities themselves.

From even this fragmentary review of Turco-Asian trade in the present movement of its chief centres, it will be seen how rich the country is in nearly all the elements of a great commerce,—an actual or potential superabundance of almost everything that Europe wants, and a population sufficiently numerous and civilized to afford in return a market admitting of immense development, for most of the industrial staples of the West. Even as it is, England ranks first both as a customer and a source of supply. With the growth and consolidation of influence which our new relation to the Empire should carry with it, the advantage might be increased almost indefinitely, to the equal gain of Turkish trade and our own.

CHAPTER IV.

AGRICULTURE.

Everywhere backward—Primitive character of the implements still used—Disregard of rotation of crops—Consequent loss to both farmer and treasury—Non-effect of the example of the few foreign-farmed estates on native cultivators—Conservative prejudice equal among Moslems and Christians—Varieties of tenure—*Vacouf*, *mirié*, *mulk*—Incidents of each—The great abuse in the administration of the first of these—Sultan Mahmoud's half reform—The proposed secularisation, how opposed—The extension of this tenure—Varieties of *mirié* lands—Special features of *mulk*—Vexatious restrictions common to the whole—How, as a rule, estates are owned and worked—Taxation—The tithe—The term now a misnomer—Chief vice of this tax in the manner of its collection—How this is done—Loss to the Treasury and oppression to the cultivators—Effort of Aali and Fuad to substitute direct collection by the Government—Failure of the attempt—The *verghi*—Injustice of its incidence—The *timettou*—Its inequity as at present levied—The sheep and cattle tax—Its capricious variations—Evasion of it by the Kurds and Bedoween—Abolition of the *kara-gûmrûk*—Usury—Its specially ruinous effect—Need of agricultural banks—The Porte's absurd attempt to establish them—Vital necessity of suppressing this evil.

THIS, though the staple industry of the great mass of the Mussulman population, is almost everywhere so backward that both its methods and results may be described in fewer lines than I propose to give pages to

the present chapter. Except in a few rare instances in which an enlightened governor-general or some large country proprietor who has visited Constantinople —where an agent of Messrs. Ransome and Sims has for some years past preached the gospel of steam ploughs and thrashing-machines with less success than his energy and the merits of his message deserve —has introduced modern implements rather as experimental toys than for serious work, from Scutari to Erzeroum, and from Sinope to Mocha, the facsimiles of the plough with which Noah may have scratched the valleys round Ararat are still everywhere in use; and as with the preparation of the ground, so with the treatment of the crop up to its partition by the tax-gatherer. Happily, the abundance of arable land neutralises disregard of anything like rotation of crops; as, when ground shows any signs of exhaustion, the cultivator has merely to transfer his seed to a virgin or long fallow tract beside it and run the round till that again needs rest. The results of such husbandry are, of course, what might be expected—enormously less than intelligent cultivation would yield, to the loss equally of the farmer and of the Treasury, whose revenue chiefly depends on tithes—in money or kind—of the actual produce raised.

It may, therefore, be said that agriculture in the provinces is still in its long infancy, practised everywhere in the most primitive fashion and yielding results totally incommensurate with the area and fertility of the land to which for the most part this

rude husbandry is applied. So far as my own observation over much of four out of the five divisions of the country enables me to testify this is the case everywhere save in a few farms near Scutari and Brousa, and in one behind Jaffa; but the whole of these exceptions are rather "model" experiments than ordinary industrial enterprises, and the example of the results from their better tillage has, unhappily, had little or no effect on their conservative neighbours. In the great majority of cases, the actual cultivator has only a minor interest in the produce, and even where he is the owner or full tenant of the ground, he regards new-fangled implements with distrust, and considers that—*mashállah!*—what sufficed for his forefathers should be good enough for him. Hence the little progress that has been made in introducing Ipswich and Bedford inventions in place of the old crooked stick and equally primitive substitute for a harrow, that have merely scratched the soil all over the East since, and before, Virgil wrote his metrical lecture on the subject a thousand years before the first Turk descended from the Altaï. For in this matter the conservative prejudice of the Christian and the Moslem ryot has always been, and still is, the same.

But if the actual practice of Turkish husbandry is thus rudely simple, its other incidents and conditions are numerous and complicated enough. Some account of these, as they affect both the native farmer and, still more, the foreign adventurer into the fields

of Turkish agriculture, may perhaps interest the reader, and to that the remainder of the present chapter will be chiefly given. First rank the varieties of tenure under which land is held; second, perhaps the taxation to which it is in one way or other subject; and third, the general poverty of the agricultural class. Although the first of these are locally known by four or five different names, they actually resolve themselves into three—*vacouf*, or mosque lands; *mirié*, Treasury or Crown land; and *mulk*, a sort of private copyhold (virtually freehold) estates. The first of these comprises: (1) The ample domain called *vacouf-el-zarai*, set apart at each successive conquest for the support of the mosques, hospitals, schools, and other religious or charitable foundations; (2) *vacouf-el-kaiamaïn*, property bequeathed by private individuals for similar purposes, and (3) *âdét*, or customary, *vacouf*, comprising the large total of realty voluntarily surrendered to the mosques by its owners to insure it against risk of confiscation—formerly, but no longer, a very real peril. This conversion was effected by the owner making a gift of, or nominally selling, the house or land concerned to the mosque administration for a trifling sum, on which he became tenant for life at a small quit-rent (*idjaié*), with the right to bequeath the tenancy at death to his direct heirs or to sell it during his life to a stranger, to whom the same title passed; but if he did not do the latter, and had no heirs, the property then lapsed absolutely to the administration, whose gain accrued not

merely from the small rent, but from the proceeds of resale to another holder. As all these varieties of Vacouf are exempt from taxation, it might be supposed that the revenues from so vast an aggregate of property would abundantly serve their proper purpose; but the great depreciation in the value of the piastre since the amount of the quit-rents was originally fixed on, without any corresponding increase in the number of these to be paid, coupled with the grossest abuse in their administration, has in course of time so reduced the net income that, even with half the mosques, schools, hospitals, and fountains throughout the country in neglected ruin, the Treasury has to contribute a large yearly sum towards the support of those that are still maintained from this source. Up to the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, each of these properties was separately administered by a functionary called a *mutavelli*, or registrar, named by the founder of the endowment in his deed of gift, over whom was a *nazir*, or inspector, who is supposed to periodically audit the registrar's accounts. On the death of an original *mutavelli*, his successor was appointed by the Cazi-asker of Roumelia or Anatolia—according to the revenue of the property—and as members of the Ulema were nearly always so named, the control of the whole in time passed virtually into the hands of that body. The *nazirs* of all the larger properties were also generally high functionaries amenable to its influence; and in this way the greater part of the Vacouf revenue became

diverted from its proper use into the private pockets of the Ulema and their official accomplices. Mahmoud, amongst his other reforms, in part put an end to these abuses by consolidating the separate administrations and transferring the whole to a new department of State called the Ministry of the Evcaf.[1] He shrank, however, from the bolder reform of complete secularization, which would have provided ample support for the mosques, with a very large margin over for the Treasury. This great measure was more than once subsequently mooted during the Vizieriates of A'ali and Fuad Pashas, but even they were unable to combat the prejudices and interests opposed to so fiscally grand a reform; and Mahmoud's half reform therefore still entails a heavy annual loss to the State, while the mosques, hospitals, and schools dependent on the Evcaf are little better off than before. By a law passed in 1867, the value of every class of property held under this tenure was much improved —by a large extension of the limit of heirship to which, on death of the life owner, it might descend before lapsing to the Evcaf. In consideration of a fine, which was estimated to yield the Treasury between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.*, this was widened to an extent that minimizes the future reversions to the department, and goes very near to equalize the tenancy value of this class with that of *mulk.* Under this ministry and these enlarged conditions of transmission, it is that all tenants of Vacouf property

[1] Plural of *vacouf.*

on both sides of the Bosphorus now hold, and cultivate or inhabit, their lands and houses.

The second, or *mirié*, category of lands includes, as has been said, the smaller but still considerable Crown property, which is divided into no fewer than five sub-classes.— (1) Those whose revenue belongs directly to the Treasury, (2) the *meval*, or waste lands, (3) the private domain of the Sultan, (4) the *emlak-humaioum*, or lands that revert to the Crown on the death of owners without heirs, and (5) the estates of the Sultan's mother and other members of the imperial family. Till Mahmoud's time, this class also included the *ziamets*, *timars*, and other military and civil fiefs held under the old feudal system which prevailed as much in Turkey as in mediæval Europe; but he abolished these for life pensions, and the properties so held passed into the general category of *mirié*. Of this, the waste lands available for reclamation and profitable culture, form no inconsiderable share, including as they do large and fertile tracts in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia between Baghdad and Bussora, and elsewhere—needing only labour and irrigation to yield abundant produce. Tenants of these *mirié* lands have only a life interest in them, which passes to their heirs but cannot be sold to a stranger; and if the land be left uncultivated for three years, it becomes forfeited to the Crown.

The third, or *mulk*, tenure is virtually a freehold, as the owner may sell or bequeath it as he likes, and it is only in the event of his dying both intestate and

without either direct or collateral heirs, that it reverts to the State. Its market value is, therefore, higher than that of either of the other classes, notwithstanding that, owing to a different kind of conveyance and registration from the latter, it is more exposed to the risk of forged *hodjets* (title-deeds) and so to the perils attaching to litigation before the Cadi. On the other hand, while the succession duty on *vacouf* and *mirié* property is 5 per cent., it is only 2½ on *mulk*, which is also exempt from the fee of 1 per cent. paid by the others in the frequent event of mortgage to money-lenders. All these classes, however, are subject to certain vexatious restrictions which sensibly affect their value and lessen the fiscal profit that might indirectly accrue from them to the Treasury. Thus, such portions of all three as are pasture cannot be brought under cultivation, nor can trees or vines be planted without special leave of the authorities, which is only obtained after much trouble and expense: so, too, neither arable, meadow, vineyard, nor garden land can be built on without a permissive *iradé* from the Sultan, the procurement of which, it need not be said, also costs both time and money; nor, finally, can a proprietor make bricks or tiles on his own land without paying to the Treasury a fine equal to the full value of the ground so used.

Such are the three principal varieties of land tenure in Turkey, under which the industry that yields at least half its revenue and supports more than two-thirds of its Asiatic population is carried on. In the

absence of statistics, I am unable to state, with any proximate accuracy, what proportion of the whole soil (in Asia) is owned by large proprietors—mostly descendants of the Derè-beys and other feudal chiefs —and what by peasant farmers; but the latter are everywhere very numerous, owning from garden-patches of a few acres near towns, to rural-holdings of from twenty to sixty or a hundred acres. The size of these smaller patches is generally computed by the number of ploughs required to cultivate them, rather than by that of their actual *donoums*.[1] These last are mostly tilled by the owner and his family, with the aid of such extra hired labour as may be necessary; and here it is that the conscription tells with such ruinous effect on the Mussulman peasant owners and the labouring ryots of the same creed on whom they mainly depend for help on their holdings. The estates (*chifliks*) of the large proprietors are variously worked on the *métayer* system of the tenant finding the labour and sharing the net produce with the owner, in a ratio that generally gives the latter the lion's share, or on a mixed system of wage-payment to the cultivator, partly in money and partly in kind.[2]

The second of the other incidents attaching to

[1] The *donoum* is a variable land measure, but commonly equals 40 *archins* or 87¾ square feet = 0·167 acre.

[2] The money value of day labour varies greatly, but away from the neighbourhood of the seaboard it may be averaged generally at about 5 piastres, or 10*d.* a day; while so-called skilled labour of carpenters, masons, and other craftsmen ranges from double to three times that rate.

Turkish farming—taxation—is even more complex than the varieties of land-tenure, and to be described in detail would need, not a chapter, but a volume to itself. The chief imposts on the soil and its living and dead produce may, however, be succinctly stated. Heaviest and worst in its operation is the *oushur*, or tithe, levied on all agricultural produce, especially on grain, oil, grapes, tobacco, and cotton,—on the first in kind, but on the others generally in money. The name of this tax is, however, a misleading misnomer, as, having been raised in 1867 for that one year to 15 per cent.—as an equivalent for the improved title then given to holders of *vacouf* and *tapou* property, above referred to,—and for the four following years to 12½ per cent., it has been retained at this latter figure—though announced for reduction in the report accompanying the budget for 1872—and is therefore even nominally a tithe and a quarter, while *in fact* the quantity actually levied under colour of it is enormously greater. But, radically opposed as this so-called tithe is to all sound economical doctrines, its real vice here lies less in its amount than in the manner of its collection. This has been so often described that I need here merely recapitulate its chief incidents. For the sake of anticipating revenue, this class of taxes is annually auctioned by tender. The estimated produce of one or more of these in a district is in this way sold to an individual or to a company of contractors —generally Armenians—who split up the district

into divisions, which they sub-sell at a profit; the buyers from them further sub-let, and in this way the transfer downwards is continued till, at three, four, or sometimes five removes from the original purchaser, the actual collector of the tax is reached. At one or other of these stages the private saraff of the governor-general of the province is sure to become interested, and his influence with the great man is, it need not be said, very profitably discounted. The series of profits made in this way represent not merely a large amount of revenue diverted from the Treasury, but a heavy addition to the ultimate burden borne by those on whom the tax falls, to the extent, it is estimated, of the latter paying 100 for every 50 sold by the Porte.[1] When the time for the collection—varying with the nature of the crop—arrives, the *oushûrjee* and his police myrmidons billet themselves on a village, and thus, free-quartered on the best it can afford,[2]

[1] Nor is this at all the full measure of the loss sustained by the Government. It constantly happens that a speculator who has thus bought the tithes of a district, after paying a portion of the purchase-money, pretends that the produce has been less than he had reckoned on, or makes some other excuse for demanding an abatement in the price. Delay follows, and as the needs of the Treasury are always urgent, a compromise greatly to its further disadvantage is the usual result.

[2] These harpies not only pay nothing for their entertainment, but often exact *dich parassi* (teeth money, for eating it) besides. The aggrieved peasant may indeed appeal to the communal medjlis, but there the *oushûrjee* is so able to out-bribe him that the remedy is practically worthless, and is for that reason seldom or never used.

delay their valuation of the produce till protracted exposure to weather, birds, and vermin threatens to destroy it, and forces the unhappy peasants to bribe their despoiler into levying his share, which they are also bound to convey to the nearest town or shipping port, it may be many miles away. The manifold evils of this mode of collection, which simply delivers over the whole agricultural population to periodical spoliation, have long been notorious; but the many vested interests in its maintenance have hitherto defeated every proposal for its abolition. Fuad and A'ali Pashas more than once announced their intention to substitute for it direct collection for Government account, and even tried the experiment in one or two of the European provinces; but the result was so discouraging that the attempt was not carried over the fifth year. Although the collectors were armed with the fullest powers, they failed to levy—or at least to pay into the Treasury—the average revenue under the old system; and even a dozen or fifteen years ago the Porte could not afford to experiment in reforms at the cost of 2,000,000*l.* or 3,000,000*l.* a year. The idea of a change was therefore abandoned. The explanation, of course, was either that the collectors were dishonest—which may in any case be assumed—or, which is equally probable, that the local authorities threw difficulties in the way of the collection which reduced the result below the average of previous "farming" years. Anyhow, the deficit was considerable, and even Fuad and A'ali perforce dropped

the reform. For the tithes, therefore, this *iltizam* or "farming" system is that now in force throughout the whole of these Eastern provinces, except in the vilayet of Baghdad, where it has been in part replaced by a land-tax based on the number of water-wheels employed in irrigation;[1] and in that of Trebizond, where the experiment of collecting the tax on direct Government account having been tried with better result than in Roumelia, it is now still so levied—not in kind, too, but in money. I need here merely add that about a third of the whole revenue of the empire is derived from this in every way objectionable tax.

Next to it, the *verghi*, or property tax, ranks as the most fructuous on the "receipts" side of the budget. Allusion has already been made to the inequitable incidence and abusive collection of this impost, but its importance as affecting real property —and thus agriculture—invites fuller statement both of its nature and bearing on the interests concerned. The *verghi* then is a tax varying in its name, as well as its nature, in different parts of the

[1] A tax called *rousbukar*, of 35 piastres (6*s.* 4*d.*) a wheel, is here levied on land within four miles of the city, but beyond this radius it amounts to 625 pias. to the north, and 135 pias. to the south of the town, per annum. On gardens the tithe is levied at the rate of one-fifth of the produce; on lands irrigated by canals at one-third; on those watered by artificial irrigation one-tenth, and on rice lands at one-half the produce. These rates are, however, again subject to considerable modifications according to the different systems of assessment which prevail in the different vilayets.

empire, having in some the character of a property tax, in others of an income tax, in others, again, of a house tax, and in some of a capitation tax. The basis of its apportiontment was fixed as far back as 1844 on that of the then estimated population, and at the rate of a silver medjidieh (3*s.* 7*d.*) per head for adults of fifteen years and upwards per annum. In 1866 a "reform" of the tax was introduced, based on a new industrial survey of property throughout the empire, but as this involved years of time to carry out, and has never yet been half completed in the interior districts, the old impost is still mostly in force, and only in those near the seaboard has the new and increased tax been at all generally applied. This latter, where now collected, includes (1) a tax at the rate of 4 per 1,000 on the estimated fee simple value of all lands and houses, whether subject to tithes or not, besides 4 per cent. on the rent of houses let to tenants; and (2) one of 3 per cent. (*timettou verghi*) on all gross profits derived from invested capital, official salaries, and industry of every kind—in fact, an income tax, pure and simple, over and above the old impost on reality alone! Under this new modification, common labourers pay 30 piastres a year, journeymen in regular trades from 60 to 160 piastres, and all other classes according to their reputed wealth. The only legal exemptions are the clergy of all creeds, salaries paid out of charitable funds, and females; but in practice nearly all functionaries, high and low, manage to

evade the tax, though they are as a rule the wealthiest persons in the district. Barring the *timettou* half of it —which is mainly oppressive in the rural districts, from being assessed on too high a valuation, and from being also carried much too low in its incidence —the new *verghi* has all the inherent inequity of the old, in that it is still assessed and levied on the population basis of 1844, without any account being taken of the economical changes that have since occurred. Thus, for example, the quota then imposed on a village which numbered at that time, say, sixty families, but has now dwindled to twenty—neither an extreme nor rare scale of diminution, especially in many of the Mussulman villages, in which the heavy blood-tax of the conscription has all but depopulated whole districts—is still levied in full from the reduced number. I have personal recollection of not a few such cases, in which the weight of the imposts was in this way multiplied till the small remainder on whom it fell abandoned their profitless holdings and removed *en masse* to other villages or towns, which of course gained by the migration, while the Government lost all revenue whatever previously drawn from the deserted farms. Unlike the tithe, however, both these taxes are sound in principle, and need only equitable readjustment to work fairly all round. But so long as the *oushur* is levied on its present extortionate scale those who live by agriculture can afford to pay neither *verghi* nor *timettou*.

Though not strictly an agricultural burden, there is yet another tax which stands to pasture in much the same relation as that of tithe to cultivated land, and therefore here calls for mention. This is the *sayme*, a tax formerly confined to sheep and goats, but which was some years ago extended to swine and horned cattle. This also varies in amount as in name in different parts of the empire, ranging from 4 piastres a head in Brousa to 2½ in Syria, Trebizond, and Baghdad. It was formerly paid in kind at the rate of one in ten, but is now levied in money; the tax, like that on field produce, being also farmed out. In addition to this Government due, flock-owners also pay to the lord of the manor grazed over a yearly tribute of one oke (2¾ lbs.) of butter and one of cheese for every ten ewes or she-goats, and a lamb for every fifty sheep. This, which is a relic of the old *spahilik*, or feudal tax, raises the whole fiscal charge on sheep and goats to about 15 per cent. of their market value. Horned cattle are in theory liable to the same tax as sheep, but such of them—the great majority—as are employed in agriculture are exempt, and pay only a small tax of 2½ piastres a head when sold, which in Trebizond and some other vilayets is also the duty levied on horses, mules, asses, and camels in changing hands. Though sheep-farming in Turkey, especially in the Asiatic provinces, has — mainly for the transport difficulties that tell almost as much against its wool, tallow, and skins as against agricultural produce—

not yet proved a profitable industry to any but the classes—nomad Kurds and Arabs—who pay virtually no taxes at all, it could well support these moderate charges and compete with agriculture itself if adequate facilities existed for the carriage of its particular products to the great Western markets. In the meantime, too, this *saymé* tax would yield a large contribution to the Treasury if it were enforced, even so far as it practicably might be, on the *kocher* Kurds and Bedoween who at present profit most by the industry, while evading or defying fiscal tribute of every kind. In Syria especially, where a large portion of the wool exported is purchased from the desert tribes, who are beyond the reach of the tax-gatherer, it should not be difficult to tax every fleece brought into the towns, and so, through the purchasing merchants, practically impose on the Arabs a due in great measure equalising the conditions of production between the nomadic and settled populations.

Up to 1874, Turkish agriculture was burthened with another tax that surpassed in absurdity and equalled in mischievous effect any other in the fiscal system of the country. This, which was called the *kara-gûmrûk* (black customs), was a duty of 8 per cent. on all native produce passing from one province to another, or even from one part to another of the same province if conveyed by water coast-wise. Each vilayet was, for the purpose of this impost, a separate territory; and over the boundary-line between it and its neighbour not a camel-load of grain nor a bale of

hides could pass without being mulcted in this toll. As often happens, the year's crop might be a very drug of plenty in the one and a more or less complete failure in the other; but even to avert famine this stupid exaction was seldom or never waived. The effect of such a tax was, it need not be said, directly antagonistic to the fiscal mainstay of the Government—the tithe—since by practically closing even accessible markets, it narrowed cultivation to little more than the supply of local wants, and so kept down the bulk whence *oushûr* was levied. Its action on local trade of all kinds was of course similar; and thus both agriculture and every other producing industry suffered. The evil, however, at length worked its own reform, since so effectually did it check inter-provincial trade that the whole proceeds from it throughout the empire hardly exceeded 100,000*l.* a year. At length, therefore, five years ago this costly trifle was abandoned, and, barring some few municipal octroi dues, internal free trade was proclaimed everywhere from the Bosphorus to the Gulf.

By their cumulative effect, these and other indirect burthens on this staple industry of the country have contributed to reduce those who live by it to a state of poverty that necessitates a crueller and more exhausting drain than the whole. In his often positive inability to satisfy the tax-gatherer, or, if that be done, to buy seed for his next season's sowing, the peasant farmer is driven into the fatal meshes of the

usurer, and once within these his ruin is a foregone conclusion. In the absence of any strictly legal prohibition, this baneful industry is carried on by Mussulmans, Christians, and Jews alike,[1] and is, beyond every other, the cause of the chronic poverty amongst cultivators of the soil. The Koran, it is true, denounces it, and proclaims that "They who live by usury will rise in the day of resurrection like one whom Satan has soiled by his touch,—they who, warned of the iniquity, abandon usury, will obtain pardon for the past,—they who relapse into usury will be cast into the fire and remain there eternally;" but, except among the Ulema and the peasantry themselves, Koranic denunciations have long lost most of their force, and usury is now as recognised a departure from the old morality as the growing taste (among the official classes) for York hams and Veuve Clicquot. It is no longer true, therefore, that, as Montesquieu wrote, "*L'usure augmente dans les pays Mahometans à proportion de la sévérité de la défense*," or that "*Le préteur s'endemmise du peril de la contravention;*" for neither legal nor actual risk is there now any, seeing that if the debt be not paid in full out of one year's crop, the balance stands as a first charge against the next. The tax-farmer himself nearly always com-

[1] But for one Mussulman, whether official or private, engaged in the practice, there are a dozen or score of Jews and Christians —the latter nearly always Armenians—who regard neither Talmud nor Gospel, if only they can amass lucre at any cost of cruelty to, or fraud upon, their victims.

bines money-lending with his other function, but he has often formidable competitors in high functionaries of the province, and even in foreign consuls—I personally knew two of these latter who fattened on the trade—who are amongst its most successful and most merciless practitioners, not openly perhaps in their own names, but under cover of local agents who, strong in their masked support, harass and plunder the peasants with a severity far beyond that of the mere private lender. Taking advantage of the peasant's ignorance of the state of the markets, the usurer—to whatever class he belongs—makes advances on the next, and in some cases on even the second and third, year's crops, at rates of interest varying from 40 to 60 and even more per cent., to be repaid in money or kind at the lender's valuation when the time comes, and as he may elect. The Porte, it is only fair to say, is powerless to stamp out this evil; since, to absolutely prohibit it to its own subjects, would be merely to create a monopoly for foreigners. The Government has more than once besought the co-operation of the ambassadors to suppress it altogether, but their Excellencies—wishing, perhaps, to teach the benighted Turk a sound Benthamite lesson as to the impolicy of restrictions on the trade in money—have always declined to interfere; and so usury has gone on and prospered, spreading its cancerous roots deeper and deeper into the vitals of the country, till it would now be hard to exaggerate the ruin it has worked, and is

still working, in every town and village of the empire.

Yet a remedy for the evil is obvious enough—in the establishment of agricultural banks, which should make advances to peasant farmers and others at rates which, while enormously below those charged by the usurers, would pay a handsome dividend on the capital so employed. When the Imperial Ottoman Bank was founded, with all the legal rights of a native institution, it was hoped that its branches would in some measure meet this great want of the country, but the expectation has not been realised; and the field is therefore still open to other capital, if only its employment be rendered safe by a modification of the existing laws as to the mortgage of real property as a security for debt. Some years ago, the Porte itself attempted the foundation of such banks, but on a basis so ridiculously unsound that failure was inevitable. The necessary capital was to be raised by compelling peasant farmers to contribute to a capital fund according to their holdings, and then to borrow back what was in effect their own money at 12 per cent. Absurd as this scheme was, nearly 500,000*l.* was raised by it all over the country, but of course the project failed; and the balance of capital in hand, instead of being restored to those who had subscribed it, was decreed to be employed in making roads. But though the roads were never made, nothing further was heard of the money nor of the scheme for agricultural banks. This, there-

fore, continues to be one of the most urgently needed reforms for the relief of the agricultural population, whose very life-blood is being sucked out by vampires whom the law, so-called, is powerless to reach or control. Abatement of the abuses that force the peasant to have recourse to it would, no doubt, mitigate the evil; but as this implies very radical fiscal changes, the process is likely to be slow, and in this case, therefore, reform might usefully begin at the wrong end, by supplying a palliative for the effect even before grappling with the cause.

CHAPTER V.

SLAVERY AND POLYGAMY.

Distinctions between slavery in Egypt and Turkey—Origin of Turkish servitude—Its much greater mildness than the slavery of Greece and Rome—Also, much less barbarous than that of the West Indies and Brazil—Easier, in fact, than the mediæval serfdom of Europe—Ottoman legislation on the subject—The gradations of Turkish slavery—Present numerical smallness of the class—Stoppage of the supply—Present prices—Facility of rise from lowest to higher grades, and to liberty—The institution now dying out—Impolicy of attempting to anticipate the natural extinction of the institution—Western misconception as to the extent and operation of polygamy in Turkey—Monogamy now the rule and growing fashion—Why so—How the institution, where practised, works—The relative ranks of the wives—Odalisks—The ethical balance between polygamy and monogamy—Explanation of historical prevalence of former throughout the East—Facilities of divorce——Recourse to it rare—The reasons—Divorce and re-marriage—Harem life, home life—Influence of women in Turkish society—Eunuchs, old as the Romans and Byzantines—Effect of polygamy on population—The conscription—Polygamy, tolerated in India, cannot be logically condemned in Asia Minor.

ELSEWHERE,[1] I have sketched the first of these two institutions as it exists in Egypt, and much of what is there said would apply equally to the *status* and its subjects in Turkey proper. But, though the legislation on which it is based is the same in both

[1] In *Egypt As It Is*, Chap. XV.

countries, some important distinctions attach to it in the latter which, in view of the still prevalent misconception as to the whole character and working of slavery throughout the Levant, may here be worth further statement. As the same popular error commonly brackets with this the other custom of polygamy—though there is only one solitary link of connection between them—it will be convenient to notice these two most distinctive features of Ottoman society together.

Turkish servitude, like that of nearly all the nations of antiquity, had its origin in the practice of enslaving prisoners of war. But instead of the bitter and uniform degradation to which defeat had immemoriably doomed its victims at the hands of civilised Greece and Rome, the genius of Islám imposed a bondage tempered by many alleviations which deprived the system of more than half its horrors, and transmitted it to the present day in a form that has hardly a feature in common with the barbarous yoke that ceased in our own colonies less than half a century ago, which was only abolished in the United States by the war of 1862, and still flourishes in "Christian" Cuba and Brazil. Later in the history of the nation, as war ceased to furnish its yearly harvests of captives, and as extended relations with the Caucasus, Barbary, and Abyssinia gradually introduced a new class of slaves, the same element of legislation that had mitigated the sufferings of captive Huns and Teutons threw its ægis over these still

ruder victims of an iniquitous traffic, and, during the Middle Ages and for three centuries later, rendered Turkish slavery an easier condition of life than was the feudal serfdom that prevailed throughout Europe till within little more than a century ago. From the very first, in fact, Mohammedan legislation softened and humanised the barbarous provisions of the old Roman code, and relieved the condition of the slave from nearly all the severities and much of the degradation that attached to it in non-Moslem countries. Thus, while among the Romans and Byzantines, as in modern Transatlantic slavery, the legal *status* of a bondsman was that of a beast of burden or other chattel (*servi in potestate domini sunt ut pecora, jumenta et ceteræ res*), in Turkey, Egypt, and even Persia the law protects the slave at every point, recognises him as a human being with definite and inalienable rights, and raises his condition to one of mere unwaged domestic servitude, in which, as a rule, he is better off than the paid free servant.[1] A glance at the provisions of the *Multequa* (the general digest

[1] For confirmation of this statement I may refer the reader to, amongst other authorities, Urquhart's *Spirit of the East*, White's *Three Years in Constantinople*, Olivier's *Voyage en Turquie*, and Ubicini's *Lettres sur la Turquie*. It may also be remarked that, although unwaged, these slave servants are much more lightly worked, are better clothed, fed, and lodged than free domestics, and receive in Ramazan, Courban-bairam, and other periodical *backsheeshes* and in vails from their masters' visitors far more than the fixed wages of their free fellow-servitors.

of Ottoman law) which affect the institution, and which in practice are very rigidly adhered to, will illustrate and confirm this statement.

The code in question recognises no fewer than six gradations of slavery, which differ widely and importantly from each other, and form so many steps from absolute bondage up to freedom. Of these the first is that of *keulelik*, or unconditional servitude, in which the slave is the mere chattel of his master, with no legal rights of any kind except to protection from personal abuse. But the condition even of this class has little or nothing in common with that of the West Indian or American negro. The law absolutely protects their life and, as I have said, forbids undue severity of punishment; besides which, they are as a rule kindly treated, and, except in the case of slaves born such or purchased in infancy, are entitled to their liberty after nine years' service. The second category is that of the *mazzoum*, which consists of slaves who are permitted by their masters to work or trade on their own account. These may acquire property and even themselves own slaves, and at their death may devise their estate as they please, their children, too, being *mazzoum* like themselves. The third class consists of *mukiatebs*, or slaves who have received a contract (*kitabet*) stipulating that their freedom shall take place in the event of some specified condition being fulfilled, such as the payment of an agreed sum of money, or the performance of a particular service. During the term over which

these contracts extend, their holders can neither be sold nor hired out, and may also purchase slaves of their own, to whom they may grant similar privileges to those enjoyed by themselves. But if the condition be not fulfilled within the term, the slave lapses to the state of *keulelik*. The fourth grade is that of *mutebbirs*, or slaves who have received a deed (*tebbir*) which confers on them deferred freedom to take effect on some stipulated contingency, such as the death of the master, his return from a pilgrimage, or other future event. The slave thus gifted may be sold, but his sale carries with it the irrevocable condition, and in no way bars his right to liberty the moment the specified event happens. The fifth class, called *mutel berimukiateb*, combines the double advantages of the third and fourth. The sixth—*ummul-vélid*, "mothers of children"—consists entirely of female slaves whose children have either been acknowledged or adopted by their owner, and thus become free: these pass at once into the class of *mutebberi*, and while they cannot in the meantime be sold, attain their full liberty on the master's death, if not enfranchised before it. The fact that a large proportion of the female slave population belongs to this class may argue more for Ottoman benevolence than morals; but it is at least conclusive as to the many privileges and the general kindliness of the treatment which Turkish—as contrasted with Cuban and Brazilian—bondswomen enjoy.

Nor are these half-dozen grades of slavery merely distinguished by a loose popular fashion. They are all practically recognised and their several immunities safeguarded both by law and public sentiment. A Mussulman who ill-treats his slaves is socially looked upon very much as a wife-beater amongst ourselves, and if the abuse at all amounts to cruelty, the victim can appeal to the Cadi and insist on being sold to another master. But gross cases of ill-treatment are very rare, and such claims for protection are seldom made. The condition, too, carries with it no personal, or at least indelible, degradation; and so, in Turkey as in Egypt, it not seldom happens that a master liberates a favourite slave and gives him his daughter in marriage, without the public feeling at all regarding the union as a *mésalliance*. Similarly, many Turks of what may be called the middle and upper classes prefer slave wives to freeborn mates, exempt as they thus are from what in the East as in the West is often the inconvenience of marriage relatives, and especially of mothers-in-law. Equally, too, is the status no bar to admission to the public service. Less than fifty years ago, indeed, most of the ministers and great officers of the Porte were of servile origin, and even at the present hour freedmen not a few hold high rank in both the army and navy.

Another fact, which further minimises the evils of the institution under even its most humane conditions, is the comparatively small number of the

slaves now held in Turkey, especially in the provinces. Thirty years ago it was officially estimated that, out of Constantinople, this did not exceed 2 per cent. of the Mussulman population, and since then the increased operation of the causes which had reduced the class to this low figure has further diminished the proportion. The spoils of war have long ceased to recruit it, the Barbary rovers no longer send their captives, and even before the complete Russian conquest of the Caucasus, the pressure of European opinion at the Porte had virtually put an end to importations on any considerable scale from Circassia and Africa, which for centuries had been the chief feeders of the traffic. The large Circassian immigrations into Turkey have in part revived the supply of white female slaves, as the colonists still sell their daughters as readily as of yore. But as the letter of the law is against these purchases—the Circassians being nominally at least Moslems—the trade is contraband, and the business done much less than under the old system of open shipments from the coast. The legal suppression of the traffic in Egypt has also so much reduced the importation of black slaves from Africa that hardly units now pass where scores were formerly shipped from Alexandria. A small supply is still received from Tunis *viâ* Malta, whence, by what may be called the irony of trade, they mostly reach Constantinople on board British steamers, as the pretended harem and servants of some travelling effendi.

Once in Stamboul there is no difficulty as to their sale, as, although the public slave market was suppressed thirty years ago, the private depôts at which slaves are lodged are well known, and the traffic goes on nearly as openly as, though under conditions of much greater decency and humanity than, in the old *Yessir-bazari.* White slaves are generally kept at Tophaneh, across the Horn, and are there dealt in a shade more privately, but with equal freedom from the interference of the police. A short trial is allowed at the house of the intending purchaser for, in the case of male slaves, medical examination to ascertain if they be sound in body and free from constitutional defects. In the case of girls, this function is performed by an official matron called *el Khibra,* and particular care is further taken to ascertain their personal habits by day and night. If the probationers satisfactorily pass this ordeal the bargain is then concluded, and the new purchases become essentially members of their masters' families, in the hierarchy of which they take precedence of, and are, as I have said, even better treated than, free servants. Prices vary from 20*l.* to 30*l.* for a low-class negro to 200*l.* or 300*l.* for what may be called the raw material of a pretty Circassian girl. These last are mostly bought from the parents or the first-hand dealer "in the rough," and after a year or two's careful nurture and education in the accomplishments of upper-class Moslem society, are sold again by the trainer at any price the caprice of a

rich purchaser may give. The best are usually bought either for marriage or concubinage, and the others for service as ladies' maids, bath-attendants, musicians, dancing-girls, and other non-menial occupations. A great scandal in the case of these girls is, that many of the intermediary purchasers who thus polish and train them for ultimate use are Turkish ladies of rank, who speculate in them either with a view to money profit on the operation, or to serve some equally base purpose by making presents of them to the Palace or to some influential grandee. It may be affirmed, however, that the majority of this white class attain comparatively speedy freedom by marriage—a goal that silences all reflection on the stages through which it has been reached.

The great majority of the slaves comprised in these six categories soon rise from the lowest class, and, through one or other of the gradations mentioned, attain their freedom well within the legal term of adult servitude. But—and no better proof of the mildness of the institution in Turkey could be given—it often happens that the bondsman refuses liberty, preferring to live on with his master and die in his service. The slave who has thus declined enfranchisement is called *Azadsig-keulé*, and when age overtakes him he is released from all labour, and set generally to take care of the children during their exercise or play, receiving from them in return the endearing appellation of *baba*—father.

From the operation of all the causes now men-

tioned, coupled with the additional fact that the class is only in a very small degree self-recruiting, it may be affirmed that slavery in Turkey is dying out. Already in the Asiatic provinces, where it is most naturally rooted, the ownership of even a very few slave servants is mainly confined to the Stamboulee officials and the richest of the old Moslem families; and, as the sources whence these are supplied gradually dry up, the institution must, *pari passu*, become extinct. But to anticipate this natural result would be equally impolitic and useless, for no human power could stamp out a custom so consecrated by time and religion as has been that of slavery throughout the East. Other social reforms must pave the way for its extinction, and it is to these first, rather than to any mere arbitrary efforts of a mistaken philanthropy, that wise administrative action should be directed. Slavery anywhere is an anachronism, and in Turkey, with the disappearance of other social features not more barbarous than itself, it too will disappear in the natural order of things. In our own colonies, the brute force of law and money enabled us to abolish the institution on a given day; but in Turkey, beyond the Bosphorus, to which little more than the echo of Western civilisation has yet penetrated, no such summary revolution would be possible. Even in the capital, the most liberal Moslem will, plausibly enough, reply to the abolitionist thus: "So long as our religious code and social practices remain unchanged, we must

either employ slaves, hire Christian women (whom we cannot trust), or wait upon ourselves. Slavery is therefore a necessity interwoven with our faith and notions of decency, and cannot be abolished without subverting the very basis of our social and moral institutions." But strong as the hold of religion and *adét* still is on the great majority of the population, the violation of both on many other points has, within the past thirty or forty years, grown into common practice, and the sanctions that buttress slavery will in time similarly yield to Western influence and example. The recent slave convention with Egypt suggests a method of dealing with the evil that may be found equally feasible in the empire proper—the immediate prohibition of traffic in slaves, and the deferred abolition of the status of slavery altogether after an interval sufficient to prepare society for the change. The former of these measures, honestly enforced, would indeed suffice, but the operation of both would so hasten the *dénouement* as to bring it well within the next score of years. With British influence now behind the Porte to stimulate it to this and other equally vital reforms which would have been hopeless a couple of years ago, the institution in Turkey, as in Egypt, may be safely regarded as doomed; and in the meantime—as I remarked of it in connection with the latter country—while this social revolution is being effected, Ottoman legislation and public sentiment may be fairly credited with having mini-

mised the evils which are inseparable from the institution even in its mildest form.

But the popular misconception as to the character and practical working of slavery in Turkey is not greater than that which prevails respecting polygamy. The common notion is, that this institution also is of Mussulman origin, that it is general throughout Ottoman society, and that gross domestic immorality is the result. Exactly the reverse is true in fact. Biblical readers need not be reminded that the custom is older than the Pentateuch, that it was common amongst the Jews and other Eastern nations, and that—although prohibited, for sufficient social reasons, by modern Christian legislation—it is nowhere forbidden by the New Testament, except as by implication against bishops, who even in apostolic times had already many compensations. It is no part of my object to defend the institution—though it has found more than one apologist and even advocate among Christian moralists and divines[1]—but to correct the prevalent misimpression as to its extent and social effects among the Mussulman population of Turkey. And first as to its extent: the popular notion is that every Turk, above the rank of the poorest, is a Bluebeard, with four wives

[1] The reader who may be curious to know what can be said in defence of polygamy from the Christian point of view, will be interested, if not convinced, by the arguments employed in Ockinus's *Dialogues in favour of Polygamy*, Lyser's *Polygamia triumphatrix*, and the Rev. W. Madan's *Thelyphthora*.

at least, and as many concubines as he can afford,—the whole of whom are the mere slaves of his caprice, jailered by eunuchs and without domestic authority of any kind. The fact is that only a minority of even the richest avail themselves of the full legal privilege, while of those below that rank not one in a thousand have even two.[1] Among what in Europe would be called the middle and lower classes, the rule, with few exceptions, is one. Odalisks also are the luxury of the very rich, and a rare luxury too; for in Turkey, as in the West, wives are jealous of their rights, and—whatever may have been the laxer rule in the good old times—they nowadays set their forces stoutly and successfully against illegitimate competition.

The first and sufficient explanation of this conjugal temperance is—the cost of indulgence. It is not merely the dowry which in Turkey a husband gives to instead of receiving with a wife, that makes marriage an expensive luxury; but each mate is entitled to a separate maintenance on a scale according with her husband's position, and without reference at all to the number of the whole, whether they be one or four. In the case of the rich, this means the support of a separate train of slaves, carriages and other incidental outlay for each *kadin;* and even among the poorer classes, of considerably more than

[1] Some years ago, among a population of 40,000 Mussulmans in Crete, there was not a single case of polygamy.

the individual cost of number one. The economical check, therefore, largely neutralises what might otherwise be the tendency to conjugal excess. I have personally known most of the Turkish ministers of the past twenty years, and many functionaries of second class rank in both Constantinople and the provinces; and of the whole, I cannot remember more than six or eight who transgressed the monogamic rule. Thus A'ali, Fuad, Riza, Kibrizli, Mehemet-Rushdi, Mahmoud, Husni, Ahmet-Veffik, Server, Kiani, Midhat, Hussein-Avni, Munif, and Savfet Pashas had, or have, only one wife. Namyk Pasha, a type of the oldest school, and the late Mustapha Fazyl Pasha, the brother of the Khedive and leader of the "Young Turkey" party, were in my time the only members of the Divan whose harems were up to full strength,—affording, as both of these could, not merely to bear the cost of quadruple establishments, but to disregard the modern prejudice against more wives than one. Namyk still lives, and in vigorous though no longer green old age profits by his wealth and the facility of divorce to keep his harem at a constant level of youth with Circassian recruits. But the very notoriety of this couple of exceptions among the governing clique, proves the rarity with which the one-wife rule is now broken. It may, indeed, be affirmed that during the past twenty or thirty years the social fashion—which in the East is quite as influential as popular opinion amongst ourselves—has been steadily growing in

favour of limitation; and the new *adét* which is thus acquiring strength already avails to counteract, to a considerable extent, the legal temptation to indulgence in two, three, or four. Still, the custom is none the less a substantial factor in the problem of Eastern social reform, and consecrated as it is by both time and religion, must be accepted till the double sanction thus given to it is outweighed by the example of a healthier Christian morality than that which now forms the only alternative the Turk has any knowledge of, and which he may well be excused for regarding as no improvement on his own.

This being so, let us glance at its practical working where advantage is taken of the privilege. In the case, say, of an establishment with three or four wives, the first married takes and retains domestic precedence, and as such is called the *buyuk khanum*[1] (chief lady), while the others are of equal rank, and are distinguished as 'second,' 'third,' or 'fourth,' or by their personal names with '*khanum*' (lady or madam) affixed. By law each of these is, as I have said, entitled to maintenance on a scale of comfort proportioned to the husband's means; and if he fail in this or any other marital duty, the aggrieved wife may appeal to the Cadi with the certainty of obtaining redress, or, if the husband refuse it, with the

[1] In families in which the husband's mother resides with her son, this title of respect and its status of precedence are given to her—the love and reverence of a Turk for his mother being perhaps the most beautiful feature in Moslem social life.

right to divorce. If, as is usual amongst the rich, the wife bring with her, or afterwards purchase slaves of her own, these remain exclusively her property, over whom the husband has no rights whatever. He has, however, in law full personal rights over such as are bought with his own money, whether for attendance on his wives or as concubines for himself, but intimacy with any of these except the last is considered bad social "form," and in practice is therefore very rare.[1] Even what may be called recognised concubinage, too, is much less common than is generally supposed. It is rare even in one-wife families, unless the *kadin* be childless, and still less so in those in which there are two or more legal mates. Throughout all time in the East, barrenness has been a misfortune and a reproach, and the childless wife, losing her prerogative, has to choose between divorce, the introduction of a second, or such a compromise as Sarah made with Abraham. She generally prefers the last, and the children resulting from it are as free and legitimate as if they had been her own. One great merit, indeed, of Moslem over Western legislation is, that it does not recognise bastardy: in law, as in fact, every child has a father, and the stigma of illegitimacy is therefore unknown. Hence the social pariahs who disgrace our own civilisation are never

[1] In this respect the relations of Turkish masters with their female slaves contrast as creditably with those formerly common in the West Indies and America, as does Eastern servitude generally with the old Transatlantic institution.

met with among Mussulmans. The travelling philanthropist will consequently look in vain for foundling hospitals among the public charities of Stamboul, Damascus, and Baghdad. Nor is this all: polygamy and its morganatic concomitant may be further credited with eliminating from Moslem social life a feature which is recognised as almost a necessary evil among ourselves. Outside the Christian quarters of Constantinople, Smyrna, and the other large coast towns of the Levant, no traces of public prostitution are to be found; while in the interior—barring a few still Christian exceptions—it is absolutely unknown. In Europe, this scandal to civilisation flourishes under police licence and almost with social sanction: in the East, it is everywhere sternly reprobated both by Moslem law and public feeling. In bare justice to facts, the ethical balance may therefore be thus stated: In Christendom we have monogamy and "the social evil"; in Moslem Turkey, polygamy and a measure of public morality that may be sought for in vain from the Save to the Pacific.

The universal habit of early marriage throughout the East further explains, if it does not justify, this privilege of conjugal recruitment. In the Asiatic provinces, the average ages at which the relation is formed are, say, twelve for the wife and sixteen or eighteen for the husband, be the religion of the parties what it may. Whether Moslem or Christian, the wife fades early, and is *passée* many years before the husband has reached his prime. I was present

once at Mosul at the marriage of a buxom little Chaldean of eleven to a widower of thirty-eight or forty, and no suggestion even of any disparity of age was hinted by any of the company. A dozen or at most fifteen years later, she would be nearly as middle-aged as an English or French woman of fifty, while he was still physically young. Hence, anciently, the universal custom of polygamy, and in modern times the temptation of the Turk to indulge in a practice which is at once adapted to the climate and sanctioned by both religion and immemorial usage.

As regards divorce, this again is much less common than might be supposed in view of its legal facility and the ready means it affords of escape from irksome conjugal fetters. For this there are two sufficient reasons—the cost of the relief, and the strong social sentiment that has grown up against it. As already remarked, the rule is that the Moslem husband, and not the wife, pays a dowry, varying in amount according to the rank of the parties. Two-thirds of the sum are paid over to the bride before marriage, and, besides also what she generally receives from her father in the shape of a very abundant outfit, become her own absolute property. The remaining third, retained by the husband, is payable only in the event of his divorcing his wife against her will, in which case she takes away with her, in money or goods, the whole of the originally stipulated amount, and is moreover entitled to three months' alimony from the date of the divorce. Ex-

cept in the case of those who can afford to disregard this considerable fine, it acts as an effectual check on recourse to the privilege, and, coupled with the social discredit of discarding a wife, renders divorces as a rule very rare. Among Moslems, nevertheless, the thing itself is even simpler than amongst the Jews. No "bill of divorcement" is necessary, but only the short verbal formula of "Veil thyself, take thy marriage portion, and go." A wife may be thus repudiated twice and taken back, but if the fatal words have been pronounced a third time, she can only be recovered after a fully consummated marriage with and divorce by another husband. This latter condition sometimes results in awkward *contretemps*. The person chosen to play the part of intermediary husband is generally the oldest and feeblest poor man that can be found. For a 'consideration,' he consents to discharge the provisional function, and engages to divorce the lady on the morrow. But it occasionally happens that the faithless old sinner, having pocketed and earned his fee, refuses to surrender a pretty and wealthy bride, or only does so after a much longer usufruct than was bargained for, and for a further considerable money ransom. As may readily be supposed, such a condition and its incidents have weight with even the hastiest-tempered husbands, and co-act with other considerations to protect wives against the risk of *talak* (repudiation), except for grave and sufficient reasons. Certain it is that, barring such cases, divorces are now quite

as rare amongst the Moslem as the Christian subjects of the Porte, and a hundred times less common than among our "more civilised" selves. Before the Cadi, however, as before Sir James Hannen, the law in this respect favours the wife less than the husband. The latter *may* brave social feeling and cut the conjugal knot when he likes, but the wife can only regain her freedom on proof of positive ill-treatment or for one or two special grounds of complaint,[1] and even then at the cost of abandoning her dowry and *trousseau* to her peccant consort. Herein British and Turkish womankind have, in some sort, a common grievance, which will, no doubt, receive full redress in the good coming time when woman's rights shall have conquered recognition in both countries. In the meantime, if it accorded with the scheme and limits of this chapter, I could easily demonstrate that, notwithstanding the legal favouritism of the baser sex in the matter of divorce, the disabilities and social subordination of women in Turkey are vastly fewer and less than is commonly supposed. I could quote ample private authority to prove that harem-life, instead of being a state of unlimited

[1] The accomplished authoress of *The People of Turkey*—a book, by the way, that deserves all the praise the critics have awarded it—is in error in saying that "the privileges of divorce thus indulgently permitted to a man are entirely beyond the reach of a woman, whom no human power can release from her *nekyah* vows without her husband's free consent." On the contrary, the law gives the wife the right to similar relief for three or four well-defined grievances.

licence on the one side and of virtual slavery on the other, is essentially *home* life in many of its best and tenderest aspects. The *khanum*, indeed, is as much mistress *chez elle* as any Western wife of the day, and has, if anything, rather more than a fair share of authority indoors. Instead of the harem being a prison guarded with bolts and bars, it is rather a sanctuary from which care and trouble are, as far as humanly possible, kept out. The man is always the bread-winner, and on him alone fall the anxieties of life, while the woman passes her days, if not in Arcadian innocence and calm, at least free from the frivolous and not always innocent excitements which make up much of the existence of her sisters in the West. In Turkish society the men see no women but their wives, mothers, and sisters, and as a rule therefore, think of no others; while the women similarly know only their husbands, and are wholly occupied with them. Nowhere, too, is the old-fashioned sentiment of reverence for parents and love of children more actively paramount, and—I do not scruple to affirm, with whatever weight may attach to long residence in and extensive travel through the country—nowhere is the general tone of family and social morality higher. This averment may surprise some readers, but it will be endorsed by those who know Turkish society even in Europe *as it is*, and not as it is painted by writers who have studied it through the medium of a Pera dragoman or from the windows of Misserie's hotel.

It remains to notice what I have called the one connecting link between these two institutions—the slave element of *eunuchs*, which the popular Western notion regards as an essential outcome of polygamy. Here again history refutes a common error. Instead of being at all a peculiar feature of Moslem society, harem-life—without its polygamic extension, but with the recognised practice of concubinage—was essentially a Byzantine institution, and long before ever a Turk set foot in Europe had spread as a high domestic fashion—nearly as rigid as that which now obtains amongst the Ottomans—northward even into Russia. Indeed, not this alone, but nearly all the other usages of Turkish society which seem most opposed to modern Christian ethics and civilisation, were prevalent throughout Asia—and, as regards most of them, throughout Europe too—centuries before Othman first settled in Bithynia, and, with hardly an exception, were found in especial vitality in the Lower Empire by Murad and Mohammed II.[1] Eunuchs, a necessary element of the harem system, infested the court and patrician palaces of Rome itself from before the days of Elagabalus, and twelve centuries later were still as necessary adjuncts of the establishment of a Byzantine grandee as they now are of any

[1] If historians of Byzantine society, from Cantacuzene to Finlay, are to be believed, personal vices, which more zealous than well-read Christians are also in the habit of placing to the special discredit of Mussulman morality, were prevalent under the Palæologi to an extent without parallel anywhere in modern times.

harem in Stamboul. The "neutrals," indeed, who waited on Anne Comnena and the Byzantine ladies for three hundred years after her, were white ones from the Caucasus, between which and Constantinople a brisk slave-trade had been kept up centuries before the Crescent displaced the Cross from St. Sophia. These "vermin of the East," therefore, no more came in with the Turks than did the system of which they form a part. On the contrary, to the latter belongs the credit of having at length mitigated the social horror by selecting its victims from amongst a lower type of humanity. Slaves of this class are now exclusively African blacks smuggled through Egypt from the Soudan. Till within a few years ago, their mutilation commonly took place at Assiout and other stations on the Upper Nile, where Coptic priests were the chief operators; but the Khedive has put an end to this infamous industry, and the whole of the small yearly importation comes ready-made from Kordofan and Darfour. Their high price, too, now limits their employment to the Imperial Palace and only the very wealthiest households, in which, I need hardly say, the part of a tyrant police ascribed to them by the prevalent Western notion has no foundation in fact.

It may be pertinent to add a word in correction of yet another misconception as to the effects of polygamy on the Mussulman population. The common assumption is that the practice largely

explains the undoubted numerical decline of the Turkish as compared with the non-Moslem races of the country. But apart from the fact that the custom is much less general than is supposed, other obvious causes, or rather one, quite sufficiently accounts for this slow but steady exhaustion of the dominant caste. Without reference to the much over-stated practice of pre-natal infanticide, which is almost unknown in the villages and smaller towns of the interior, the blood-tax of military service amply explains the phenomenon. It may be that the indolence and seclusion of harem-life are more conducive to sterility amongst Turkish women than the freer and healthier conditions under which their Rayah rivals live; but certain it is that the exclusive liability to the conscription has told with most destructive effect on the Ottoman population. In the good old days, when war recruited rather than thinned their ranks and filled their harems with female captives, polygamy "spawned warriors by the score," and more than supplied the life-waste of Murad, and Bayazid, and Solyman's campaigns. But for more than two centuries this wealth of external supply has ceased, and, with a restored sexual balance, the military drain has every year more and more sapped the vitals of the race. From the age of sixteen to twenty-five the whole Moslem population—except that of the capital—is liable to conscription, and of the many thousand able-bodied men who, even in

times of peace, are thus annually drafted away from reproduction, it is estimated that not more than 35 per cent. return to their homes, and these generally health-wrecked from nostalgia, rheumatism, and gastric disease.[1] For centuries the Rayahs, on the other hand, have not contributed a man to either the army or navy, but pay only a small exemption-tax and multiply in peace. The three years of the Crimean War, it was reckoned, cost nearly a million of Turkish adult male lives, and the late single-handed conflict probably as many more. Thus handicapped in the race of vital multiplication, it needs no arguments from polygamy or other practices to account for the lee-way made by the Ottoman as compared with Rayah communities of the Empire.

Still, much as the evils of these institutions are exaggerated by Western opinion, both are in fact bad enough to be incompatible with any advanced civilisation. Slavery, even in its mildest form, admits of no defence, and Christian legislation has equally set its ban on plurality of wives. But while the former must be grappled with in any attempt to socially regenerate Turkey, the latter may be safely left to run its comparatively harmless course, till the few who now practise it become gradually converted to

[1] In war-time there is practically no limit of age at which the conscription stops. Thus during the late conflict, more than 100,0000 recruits were levied in the single vilayet of Aidin (Smyrna), many above forty years of age.

the domestic faith of the many—that one wife is enough, and very much better than two, three, or four. We tolerate polygamy in the Deccan and the Punjaub, and what Indian legislation thus sanctions cannot well be condemned in Asia Minor.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ULEMA.

The greatest corporate obstacle to reform—Its origin—Growth of its influence—This survived the fall of the Caliphates—Murad IV. pounds a Mufti—Mohammed II. separated its functions—Higher rank of the juristic branch—How the hierarchy of the body is now constituted—Means of access to its ranks—Passage through the various stages of study—Difference between mufti and cadi or mollah—The Cazi-askers and Sheik-ul-Islâm—The religious section—Conservatism of the body—Its certain opposition now, as at all times, to reforms—The Dervishes—Their obstructive power over-rated — How the Khedive overbore the Egyptian Ulema—Similar firmness would induce submission of the Turkish body to any necessary changes.

THE importance of this body as the most powerful class-force in Turkey, and the greatest obstacle to the regeneration of the empire on either side of the Bosphorus, entitles it to a brief chapter to itself. Its origin dates from the second century of Islam, when, during the Abbasside Caliphate, the traditions and commentaries on the Koran had already become so numerous and conflicting, that a special order of learned men was gradually formed who devoted themselves to the study and exposition of this sacred literature. They were called *Ulema*[1] to distinguish them from the unlearned mass of believers,

[1] Plural of the Arabic *alim*, "wise," or "learned."

amongst whom, as among our own countrymen of the same and a much later age, the mere art of reading was a rare and precious accomplishment. In those early days of the faith, when religious fervour was at its height, such a body naturally acquired great influence, and gradually arrogated to itself the attributes of a quasi-priesthood. In both law and religion—which to the Mussulman mind are identical, as having their common origin in the Koran—the Caliphs were of course supreme, being at once popes, legislators, judges, and all but executors of their own decrees. But, by the end of the second century, or early in the third of the Hegira, when their ambition aimed at conquering the world, temporal cares left them little leisure for the personal discharge of mere sacerdotal and judicial functions, and these they accordingly delegated to the new body, whose popular, though as yet legally unrecognised, authority was already great. The concession thus made for the personal convenience of the Caliph, by degrees came to be claimed as a right, and even before the decline of the Abbasside line, the Ulema had grown into a power, without the sanction of whose *fetva*, or approving decree, hardly any great act of State was considered valid. Like the Western Christian clergy of the same period, they exercised an influence paramount in some respects to that of the sovereign himself, on the pretence of being the direct oracles and ministers of Heaven, and of speaking,

therefore, with a still more immediately divine right than either Caliph or King. It is curious, indeed, to note this synchronism in the ascendency of what may with rough accuracy be called the priesthoods of two creeds dogmatically so diverse, and over societies both politically and socially so dissimilar. Later, when the Caliphs sank into mere pontiffs—empty shadows of the spiritual power really exercised by the Sheik-ul-Islâm—and the temporal authority passed into the hands of secular princes, this high prerogative of the Ulema was still respected, and more than once the grand Mufti overawed the Sultan himself. Murad IV., indeed, rudely defied and outraged the popular notion of this sanctity by pounding in a mortar a Mufti who dared to oppose his will; but he probably paid for the sacrilege by dying shortly afterwards of—as the French historian of his reign terms it—*apoplexie foudroyante.* Submissive when the sovereign was strong, and dominant when he was weak, the body managed to retain its influence through all the revolutions of Ottoman history, and at every period of this has been the consistent enemy of reform.

Mohammed II., however, was powerful enough to reorganise it, and, soon after the conquest of Constantinople, he did so by separating the judicial from the sacerdotal functions and assigning them to distinct sections of the corps. Of the two orders thus formed, precedence was given to the interpreters and administrators of the law, the repugnance

of Islamism to anything like a priesthood in the Western sense relegating the ministers of public worship to a lower rank.

At that time the hierarchical chief of the body was the *Cazi-asker* (military judge), to whom Mohammed added a colleague of equal rank (with, but after), and the two were then respectively called Cazi-askers of Roumelia and Anatolia. Next after them came the Khodja, or tutor to the Sultan and the princes, and after him the Grand Mufti. But later, Solyman I. abolished the grade of Khodja, and gave the Mufti precedence of the two chief judges, with the title of *Sheikh-ul-Islâm*, or head of the Faith, next after the Caliph himself. The organisation thus finally settled has since been maintained, and this great corps therefore now consists of what may be called (1) a legal and (2) a religious division, the former of which includes all judges administering the law, and *muftis* who teach and declare it; while the latter comprises the two upper grades of those who have charge of the mosque services and perform other religious functions, with the generic title of *imaums*, or leaders (in public worship). These together form a hierarchy of many but well defined ranks, progress through which, from the lowest up to the second below the highest, depends on long noviciates of patient rather than studious preparation, followed by more or less severe examinations. Aspirants to the body—which is mainly recruited from the lower classes—after having passed through the *mekteb*, or rudimentary free parish

school, enter the *medressehs*, or seminaries attached to the larger mosques, and there, as the recently famous class of *sukhtis* or *softas*, the "consumed" (with the love of learning), devote ten or a dozen years to the elements of grammar, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric, and the Koran. During this time they are lodged in a building behind the *medresseh* and receive rations of bread and cooked rice from the mosque, and earn enough to supply their other wants by acting as public scribes, by reading the Koran in private houses, or by helping to sweep and clean the mosques. Towards the end of this long curriculum they become *damischmends* (endowed with learning), and teach the younger students. They are also now qualified to become teachers in the inferior schools, or to become *naïbs* (provincial deputy judges) of the lowest class, or common *imaums* at the mosques, but in both cases without the faculty of rising higher. If they do not accept these posts, but pass the requisite examination, they are admitted within the sacred circle of the Ulema with the lowest grade of *mulazim*[1] (candidate), which qualifies for the office of *naïb* with the right to one step of promotion to that of ordinary *cadi*. If the aspirant be content with these modest posts, he need go no further, but if he aim at the higher ranks of the corps, he must pass another seven years in the study of dogmatic science and of jurisprudence as embodied in the Koran, its

[1] The same term is used in the army for the rank of sub-lieutenant.

many commentaries, and the five great collections of the ancient *fetvas*. If at the end of this second long probation he passes another stiff examination, he becomes a *muderri* (professor). He may now again halt here and become a *mufti*, or *muffetish*, or a *mollah-devryeh* ("turning" cadi, so called from his revolving through a round of posts without increase of rank). A mufti,[1] as already mentioned, is a teacher and interpreter of the law, though not administering it; a muffetish, an officer exclusively employed in the management of the *vacoufs* (mosque property), and a mollah-devryeh, a cadi above the rank of *mul-azim*. The majority content themselves with this second stage, and having been once so elected are ineligible for higher rank. The more ambitious minority spend yet another ten years in passing upwards through as many classes of the professoriat, and then receive the title of *mollah-makredji*, or mollah with the right to advancement. To this grade, as its name imports, belong all the great prizes of the body—the mollahships of the chief provincial cities, of Mecca, and of Stamboul, and, by the grace of Allah and the Sultan, the still higher

[1] One of these officers—whose functions are quite distinct from those of the mollahs or cadis—is attached to each of the principal courts, and on the application of parties to civil suits states for a small fee the law on the point in dispute. This he does in a *fetva*, or brief declaratory opinion, in which the difficulty and its solution are presented in the form of question or answer. Not being based on any evidence of the facts, this pronouncement in no way prejudges the case, but, on the point of pure law involved, it generally weighs with the cadi.

posts of Casi-asker of Roumelia and Anatolia (presidents of the high appeal courts for Europe and Asia), and even of Sheikh-ul-Islâm. This last, the supreme head of the whole, ranks with but after the Grand Vizier, and his *fetva* has all the authority of a Papal bull. To summarise what precedes, it may therefore be said that this principal judicial branch of the Ulema consists of three degrees, the lowest of which comprises promotable naïbs and common cadis, the second (besides muftis) muffettishes and *devryeh* mollahs, and the third and highest *makredji* mollahs, and all other judges above them to the Grand Mufti himself.

The imaums, or religious section of the body, are of two grades: (1) the *sheikhs*, who deliver a discourse in the mosques after midday prayer, and rank only with the judicial *muderris;* and (2) the *khatibs*, who recite the *khoutbé*, or solemn prayer, on Friday, and whose grade corresponds with that of the *mulazim*. Below these there are three other classes of mosque ministers—the common *imaum*, already mentioned, who recites the *nasmaz* or ordinary daily prayer, and assists at marriages, circumcisions, and burials; the *muezzim*, who calls the faithful to prayer from the balcony of the minaret, and sings hymns on the occasion of religious festivals; and the *kayim* or mosque-keeper, who sweeps the floor, lights lamps, and discharges the other humble offices of the building: but none of these belong to the Ulema, and in the smaller mosques one and the same person

generally perform the duties of all three. It will thus be seen how subordinate in rank, functions, and influence this branch of the body is to its judicial division.

The conservatism of this great corps cannot be better expressed than by saying that as Mohammed Fethi left it four hundred years ago, so in spirit and constitution is it now. The destruction of the Janissaries, who for centuries had been its firm allies, deprived it of much of its mischievous power; but, as against reform in any modern sense, it is still the same formidable obstructive force with which Reshid, and A'ali, and Fuad all in turn wrestled in vain. Trained in the same narrow, fanatical grooves as of yore, its members have neither learned nor unlearned anything. With the grand resignation enjoined by their creed, they will submit to political reverse as *kismet*, and, if need be, will shake the dust of Europe off their feet; but, unforced, they will make no compromise with the *ghiaour* that Western diplomacy can accept. As read by them, the Koran opposes an absolute *non possumus* to every attempt at administrative or social change in the direction of levelling Mussulman and Rayah before the law, or of bringing the general character of the government into harmony with nineteenth century civilisation. "Meddle not with things established, borrow nothing from infidels, for the law forbids it," has been the set formula of their opposition to liberal innovations of every sort; and, consistently with this, every

member of the corps, from khatib to Sheikh-ul-Islâm, has successfully worked to make Tanzimat and the many *hâtts* that have followed it the dead-letters we all know them to be. This has been possible, not merely from the influence of the body over the great mass of the Mussulman population, but from the fact that its leading members form part of the Divan, and so have a direct voice in shaping the policy and controlling the departmental action of the Government.

It may be certainly reckoned, therefore, that any attempt to introduce such administrative reforms as are contemplated by the Anglo-Turkish Convention will now again be opposed by this powerful body. From the Sheikh-ul-Islâm in the Council of Ministers to the imaum who as palace chaplain has the private ear of the Sultan, its whole influence will be exerted against such concessions to the *ghiaour*. Religion and patriotism will both be appealed to, and, as the personal interests of the entire governing caste will all be in the same scale, the diplomatic weight in the other must be heavy indeed to make Ulema and Pashas kick the beam. The dervishes who, though not celebates, may be called the monks of Islâm, have also been reckoned among the anti-reform forces to be overcome, but their power of obstruction has, I think, been overrated. These ascetics represent merely the ignorance and bigotry of the fanatical minority of the lower classes, amongst all but whom they are treated with perhaps

even more ridicule and contempt than befell our Western monks of the Middle Ages. Individual bigots of the middle or upper classes occasionally join one or other of the various orders, but such instances are rare, and in no way affect the social and political unimportance of the whole. They too lost powerful friends in the Janissaries, whose destruction rendered possible, soon after, the suppression of the extra-fanatical order of the Becktashis and the public execution of its three chiefs, a blow from which dervishism in Turkey has never since recovered. The two best known of the surviving orders are the *Mevlevi*, or "dancing," and *Rufa'i*, "howling" dervishes, whose weekly services in their tekkés (convents) in Pera and Scutari, rank among the chief travellers' "sights" of Constantinople. Branches of these and the numerous other fraternities are scattered throughout Asia Minor, but the whole together enjoy no influence that could at all obstruct, much less defeat, a policy of seriously-meant reform. In the remoter East fanaticism is still a political force, and dervishes, fakirs, sofis, and santons are elements to be reckoned with by Khans and Ameers; but in Turkey the intolerant bigotry even of the masses has lost much of its old fierceness; these apostles of it are nowadays powerless to affect the action of the government in any way.

Very different in its character and strength as may be the Toryism of the Ulema from this coarser fanaticism of the dervishes, it is almost equally coercible

if not by the Porte at least by the personal authority of the Sultan. As Sovereign and Caliph, he represents a dual supremacy with which nothing short of revolution could cope, and this no class in the country could successfully provoke against a policy supported by European public opinion. How completely, indeed, this personal power of the Sultan would suffice to stifle opposition has been shown by the minor precedent of Egypt, which has also its Ulema, as much more bigoted than that of Stamboul as the Arab, when religious at all, always is than the Turk. There, when the Khedive began his judicial and other administrative reforms, the Cairene Sheikh-ul-Islâm and his colleagues declared the proposed changes to be religiously inadmissible. Ismaïl replied by dismissing the obstructionist mufti, and intimating that he would suppress the whole corps if further opposition were offered. The new Sheikh endorsed the proposed reforms with his ready *fetva*, and since then not a whisper of complaint has been heard. Till within half-a-dozen years ago a chief cadi had regularly been sent down for a year's plunder from Constantinople; but a money payment to Stamboul has put an end to this scandal, and a member of the Egyptian Ulema now fills the post with as ready an acceptance of Christian evidence as any of the international courts. Moral: If the Porte can be either persuaded or coerced into the adoption of reforms, the Ulema will not seriously stand in their way. If it will not listen to arguments

of patriotism and self-interest, the Sultan, or whoever influences him—may nowadays make short work of its opposition.

I am forgetting to say that the person of the Sheikh-ul-Islâm, while in office, is sacred, nor even when he is in disgrace can his property be confiscated. All members of the body too, of whatever rank, are exempt from military service and taxation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAWS AFFECTING FOREIGNERS.

Abnormal status of aliens in Turkey—Extra-territorial jurisdiction of foreign Powers—The Capitulations—Their history—The privileges they confer—The British Levant Company—Its authority transferred to the royal consuls—This regulated by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act and Orders in Council made under it—Establishment of the British Supreme Consular Court—Its jurisdiction—Judicial powers exercised by consuls—Their misuse, or abuse—Smallness of Porte's progress in judicial reforms—Its "codes" and mixed courts—These latter as corrupt as the purely native tribunals—Consular dragomans—The Capitulations cannot yet be safely surrendered—The real property law for foreigners—The antecedent system—Asia Minor and Syria as fields for immigration—Attractions and discouragements compared—Preponderance of the latter.

THE legal status of foreigners in both Eastern and Western Turkey, it is generally but not quite exactly known, differs widely from that of aliens in any other country of Europe, and is, indeed, without analogue anywhere except in the nearly similar relations imposed by quite modern treaties on China and Japan. Everywhere else international and the local municipal law are supreme; but in Ottoman territory, east and west of the Bosphorus, both are superseded by an exceptional code which ousts the sovereign and his tribunals of nearly all jurisdiction over

foreign residents in, or travellers through, the empire. This state of extra-legal privilege depends on a body of old conventions—known as Capitulations—between the Porte and the principal European Governments, which, springing originally from the free grace of the Sultans, have since been abused, as Turkey grew weaker and Europe stronger, into forming the basis of a system of *imperium in imperio* that would certainly not now be tolerated by the smallest Christian power. The germ of the privileges thus converted into rights dates from the immunities enjoyed by the Genoese under the Lower Empire, which were confirmed to the republican traders by Mohammed II. after the capture of Constantinople. The crescent had, however, displaced the cross on St. Sophia for more than eighty years before this grace was extended to the subjects of the other Western governments. It was not, indeed, till 1535 that France, the first of the foreign nations thus favoured, obtained similar concessions for its merchants from Solyman the Magnificent, on the eve of that monarch's alliance with Francis I. against their common enemy the Emperor Charles V. Nearly a century more elapsed before Murad IV. during the reign of Charles I., accorded similar privileges to our own countrymen trading to the Levant; nor was it till 1675 that the protective rights, thus from time to time conceded, were formally ratified by treaty stipulation. In that year "Capitulations and Articles of Peace" were entered into between Mohammed IV. and the English Government, confirming

and extending what had been previously granted. During the short reign of James II. some additional articles were tacked on to the treaty thus concluded; and again, in 1708, an ambassador from Queen Anne obtained further concessions from Achmet II. A century later the charter—swelled by the grant of supplemental immunities during the reigns of the first and second Georges—was importantly extended by the treaty of the Dardanelles (January 5, 1809); and this again was further and finally amended and ratified in 1838 by the treaty of Balta Liman, the "additional articles" of which formed up till the existing treaty of commerce (negotiated by Sir Henry Bulwer in 1861) the latest provisions in the charter of extra-international rights of the British Government and its subjects resident in, or trading with, the Ottoman empire.

The nature and value of the privileges thus successively granted and finally confirmed—not merely to British subjects but to those of every other European Government—may be briefly stated. They confer upon foreigners the right of trading freely throughout the empire, subject only to such import and export duties as are fixed by treaty; they protect them from arbitrary taxation; ensure the inviolability of their domicile; entitle them to have civil disputes settled by their own consuls, and secure the protecting presence of the latter, or their dragomans, at either civil or criminal trials to which they may be parties before the native courts. But the

consuls have no jurisdiction in matters of real property, this, as I shall presently explain, being exclusively subject to the Ottoman authorities. In the case of our own countrymen these various privileges were in practice confined to members of the Levant Company, which, up till 1825, enjoyed a monopoly of the British trade with Turkey; but when that old corporation was dissolved in the latter year they became the common rights of all British subjects visiting or residing in the country, and the authority which had been exercised under them by the Company's "factors" passed to the King's consuls. Since that time this authority has been further defined and legalised by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843, and the successive Orders in Council made in pursuance of it—under the last of which, issued in 1864, British consular authority in Turkey is now administered. Already, in 1857, as a remedy for the abuses which had grown into existence in connection with the judicial exercise of this, a "Supreme Consular Court of the Levant" had been established at Constantinople, and a "Legal Vice-Consulate" at Smyrna,[1] both presided over by barristers. At the same time lay consuls at other posts received regular judicial powers, to be exercised under instructions and rules from the judge of the Supreme Court, and approved by a Secretary of State. The whole of these tribunals were by Order in Council made courts of record, and, subject to a few special

[1] This latter has since been abolished.

provisions, they were directed to "exercise their jurisdictions upon the principles of, and in conformity with, the Common Law, the Rules of Equity, the Statute Law, and other law for the time being in force in and for England, and with the powers vested in and pursuant to the course of procedure and practice observed by and before Courts of Justice and Justices of Peace in England, according to their respective jurisdiction and authorities." In 1863, after some agitation provoked by the action of the then judge of the Constantinople Court, the right of trial by jury in civil suits for or beyond 50*l.*, and in criminal cases of more than mere police importance, was added to the machinery thus created. The right of appeal from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council was also extended from its original limit of 1,000*l.* to all suits for half that amount, tramelled, however, with conditions as to security for the respondent's costs which in most cases rendered the privilege a dead letter. The civil jurisdiction thus settled is of the most comprehensive kind. The Supreme Court is a court both of law and equity. It can try matrimonial causes, but with power only to decree judicial separation, and not to divorce. It is also a court of bankruptcy, of probate, and of vice-admiralty. The provincial courts wield nearly similar powers (subject to appeal to Constantinople), and the whole have exclusive jurisdiction in all suits between British subjects within their respective districts, and also in—the now rare—cases in which foreigners

submit to their authority for the trial of claims against British defendants. The criminal jurisdiction is also, of course, confined to British subjects, over whom it is no less extensive than the civil. Thus the Supreme Court can inflict twenty years' penal servitude, with or without a fine of 500*l.*; and in the case of capital offences it can record sentence of death, but must send the convict to Malta or England for execution. A provincial court before a consul can, however, award only twelve months' imprisonment, with or without a fine of 50*l.*: cases which involve heavier penalties being remitted to the metropolitan tribunal. How such a scheme works may be imagined when it is added that out of the eighteen or twenty consular courts now existing throughout Turkey, only the Supreme Court is presided over by a trained lawyer. The "judges" of all the others are the respective lay consuls, who, ignorant of even the elements of law, often do worse than travestie it in the administration. In the capital, too, illustrations have not been wanting—in the case especially of two former judges—that powers so extensive and virtually absolute may be abused even in the hands of a professional lawyer, who, subject to few or none of the wholesome restraints of public opinion or appellate control, cannot always resist the temptation to dispense both law and equity in a manner that would astonish Westminster Hall and Lincoln's Inn.

When these courts were first established, one of the professed objects of our Foreign Office was to

set such an example of cheap, pure, and expeditious justice as would not merely lead to similar improvements in other foreign consulates throughout the country, but would induce the Porte itself to further reform its own wretched judicial system. But here again "the ample proposition hope made" has signally failed in its "promised largeness." The Greek and Italian Governments have, indeed, attached a professional lawyer as legal assessor to their metropolitan and a few of their chief provincial consulates, and have otherwise somewhat improved their old procedure; but, beyond these changes and the alterations in our own service, the administration of consular justice throughout Turkey has undergone little or no reform since the Crimean War.

Nor can it be said that the Porte itself has made much greater—or, indeed, any real—progress within the same interval. Scheme after scheme of legal reform has been announced, but not one has been honestly and effectively carried out. So far back as 1840, the promulgation of Tanzimat had necessitated a modification of the old codes of the Multequa, which had hitherto been followed in suits between Mussulmans themselves, or between them and Rayahs, and also in criminal trials for offences committed by any subject of the empire against any other of a different race or creed. The first fruit of this change was the Penal Code of 1840, a piece of legislation which, though most crude and defective if measured by a Western standard, was in point of precision at

least a great improvement on the mere collection of precepts which had previously formed the only criminal law of the empire. The provisions of this apply not only to natives, but to foreigners committing criminal offences against subjects of the Porte. In such cases consuls have no jurisdiction, but, as has been said, have merely the right to attend the trial in person or by their dragoman, and to control execution of the sentence by approving or protesting against it. For seven years more, however, civil disputes between natives and foreigners continued to be settled by a kind of mixed arbitration which had no definite forms of procedure, and few or no means of enforcing its awards. The result was such a deadlock in this class of affairs that in 1847 the Porte was obliged to establish a system of mixed civil courts, called Medjlis-i-Tidjaret, which were composed half of Ottoman subjects named by the government, and half of Europeans appointed by the embassies. The experiment was first tried in Constantinople, and similar tribunals were afterwards established in the chief provincial towns. A mixed maritime court was likewise founded in the capital to try Admiralty suits between natives and foreigners. But it was not till 1850 that these new tribunals administered any particular "law," the *shériat* of the cadis' courts being of course inapplicable. In that year a small pamphlet, called a *Code de Commerce* was compiled from such chapters of the Code Napoléon as relate to trading partnerships, bills of exchange, and bank-

ruptcy; and to this have since been added an *Appendix*, or *Code Maritime*, and a *Code de Procédure*[1]—the whole of which, if bound up with the *Code Pénal* would form only a slender octavo volume. But, however meagre and elementary such a body of law and procedure may be, it is generally much above the heads of the judges who have to administer it. Neither the native nor the foreign members of these courts have, or pretend to have, any legal knowledge whatever. Many of them cannot read either the Turkish or French in which alone these various "codes" are printed. Nor is this all. As a rule, the native members almost always vote with the president of the court; and that official is not only as ignorant as themselves, but being miserably underpaid—he receives from 10*l.* to 12*l.* a month, and that pittance is generally long in arrear—he is almost perforce as corrupt as any cadi or naïb. Such a state of things leaves of course a fine field for the diplomacy of the consular dragoman who watches the case for the foreign plaintiff or defendant. As in neither our embassy nor our consulates, have we yet adopted the salutary rule of the other great Governments, to employ only our own countrymen as interpreters, this functionary is with us almost always a Greek, a Jew, or an Armenian; and accordingly as he has been conciliated by his own "subject" or by the other side, he can generally do much, *more*

[1] I give their titles in French, as this is the only European language in which they are printed.

Levantino, to promote or defeat justice. It is but fair, however, to say that although great hardship often results from the delays and defects of procedure in both these and the criminal tribunals, in the latter the right of consular *veto* on the execution of sentences avails, as a rule, to prevent gross injustice or undue severity in those pronounced against foreign offenders.

But valuable as these Capitulation privileges enjoyed by foreigners were two centuries and a half ago, when Turkey was kept out of the pale of European fellowship even more by her barbarous system of government than by her voluntary isolation, it must in justice be confessed that by the sheer advance of civilisation—to say nothing of the change in the balance of power—they have lost much of their original *raison d'être.* In no part of the country need foreigners now fear being subjected to the outrages and gross injustice to which, but for these old conventions, they would formerly have been exposed; and if the Porte showed any serious disposition to reform administrative abuses which affect its own subjects even more than they do aliens, its claim to have these humiliating restraints on its full sovereignty largely modified, or even altogether abolished, might be fairly considered. But in the absence of better proof of this than has yet been given, it would be a hazardous experiment to trust either the persons or the property of foreigners to the uncovenanted mercies of Turkish officials, with

no better justice to appeal to than such as the cadi would be likely to dispense in their behalf.

Another important right, however, now enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey in no way derives from the Capitulations, but is the creation of a law issued so recently as 1867. Prior to that year, none but subjects of the empire could legally own land or houses on either side of the Bosphorus. The disability had in practice been evaded by the wives or other female relatives of foreign residents enrolling themselves as members of the "Latin" (or Catholic) community which Mohammed II. found established in Constantinople at the conquest, and to which he granted this right of holding realty; or, by the property being registered in the name of some born subject of the Porte, who gave the alien owner a declaration that he merely held it in trust for him.[1] This system of vicarious ownership had long been a fruitful source of abuse, defeating the ends of justice, and bringing more discredit on the character of foreigners than perhaps anything else. Under it, an Englishman, Frenchman, or other European had merely to buy a house or land, register it in the name of his wife or daughter as a Latin Rayah, and then become bankrupt, defying both the native and his own authorities to touch either, be his debts what they might. The increasing scandal of this state of

[1] An exception to this rule had grown up in the province of Smyrna, where, for nearly a century before, resident foreigners had, through laxity of the local authorities, acquired permission to hold property in their own names.

things, and also the growing clamour for the opening of the country to foreign agricultural and other enterprise, at length induced the Porte to meet both by a really liberal measure, which while subjecting the alien proprietor to Ottoman authority for all fiscal and police purposes, still left such a margin of consular protection as placed him at great advantage over the native owner, whether Mussulman or Rayah. The text of the "law" conferring this new right will be found in the Appendix, but its main provisions may be here summarised: The privilege of owning real property everywhere throughout the Empire, except in the Hedjaz, is granted to foreigners on—for all purposes of tenure, taxation, and testamentary disposition—a precisely equal footing with native subjects of the Sultan. Houses and land so held may, in the event of the owner's bankruptcy, be sold for the benefit of the creditors, and may also be sold in satisfaction of judgments obtained in foreign courts without the formality of a fresh "action on the judgment" in an Ottoman tribunal,—a provision that carries judicial comity to its limits. This jurisdiction of the native courts, however, extends only to the land or houses so held, and in no way to the person or movable effects of the owner, both of which are still protected by the Capitulations. But whereas under these latter the domicile of a foreigner is everywhere inviolable by the police, except in the presence or with the leave of his consul, in the case of proprietors under the new law this privilege is

limited to a zone of nine hours (27 miles) round a consulate: outside that distance the police may in cases of urgency enter a foreigner's house to make searches in matters of serious crime, but even then they must be accompanied by three members of the local "council of elders" as a guarantee against abuse, and if it be necessary to arrest the foreigner, immediate notice must be given to his consul and his person be safeguarded as the Capitulations provide. In civil matters, too, he can only be sued in the native court without the presence of the consul for sums not exceeding 1000 piastres (9*l.*), and even in such cases he has the right of appeal to the sandjak court, in which the consul or his delegate must be present. Nor can he be fined in the lower court in any sum above 500 piastres, against which also he has the same faculty of appeal, and in the case of neither the civil claim nor the fine can the judgment be executed without consular sanction.

But liberal as the provisions of this measure undoubtedly are, they have as yet attracted but few foreign settlers into the country, for possible colonists have not failed to see that the vicious fiscal system, the judicial corruption, and the lack of roads which everywhere stifle native industry, would operate equally against their own; and probably, therefore, not a dozen European emigrants have bought land anywhere outside the immediate neighbourhoods of Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyrout, and one or two other Levant towns since this "law" was issued.

As, however, one of the probably expected results of the "opening up" of these Asiatic provinces—when it occurs—may be that they will offer an inviting field for European immigration, it may perhaps be worth while to here state briefly the sum of resident foreign opinion on this subject. The extent of the attraction would of course depend on that to which British influence became paramount in the country, as, without the protection to be derived from *that*, such enterprise would be far too speculative to be either profitable or safe. In any event, Asia Minor and, on a smaller scale, Syria would be the only parts of the country likely to attract settlers; as, although Mesopotamia also possesses vast tracts of the finest waste land, its distance from the sea—to say nothing of its exposure to Kurdish and Arab raids—would, even when railway communication has been established, so heavily tax produce for the cost of transport as to place it at great disadvantage as compared with Anatolia and the Syrian seaboard. Armenia and Kurdistan are not, of course, to be thought of for this purpose, and Western Arabia is still farther outside the possibilities. Much of the land available in both Asia Minor and Syria is Crown land, grants of which could no doubt be had on easy terms,—probably tax-free for three or five years,—and *chifliks* (estates) might also be bought of private owners at very moderate price, with the advantage over waste State land of being already under cultivation, and in the neighbourhood of villages affording settled labour.

The original cost of farms would not, therefore, in either case be great, and even in that of ground broken in for the first time there would be little or no outlay for clearing. Both Asia Minor and Syria would, too, have the advantage over Western America and our own colonies of being comparatively near home and within easy reach of the European markets. On the other hand, there is much to be set against these favourable conditions. The whole surroundings are *foreign;* the language—in the one case Turkish, and in the other Arabic—must for a long time be an insuperable barrier between immigrants and the natives; and even within the four corners of the law permitting foreigners to own land, an infinity of vexations are possible to which neither American nor Colonial settlers would be exposed. Within consular districts, strangers would no doubt be protected from many of the abusive exactions that befall the native farmer, but there would still be margin enough for administrative abuse, against which the consul would have no right of interference, to constitute a serious drawback on such enterprise. Labour, too, though nominally cheap, is in many districts wholly insufficient for cultivation on any extended scale, and even where it is numerically adequate, it ceases to be cheap in view of the listless, apathetic habits of the workers. In the case of those Europeans who have tried farming in Asiatic Turkey under all these conditions, the experiment has, almost invariably, proved a commercial failure. Several of such

instances within my own knowledge have occurred in the neighbourhoods of Smyrna and Brousa, and nearer still to Constantinople, in which, notwithstanding the vicinity of markets, official vexations, native jealousy, and the labour difficulty have in every case cumulatively availed to make the adventure a non-success. *A fortiori* would it be so further inland even in Asia Minor, while in many of the best districts of Syria exposure to the Bedoween would form an additional and by no means an imaginary drawback. It may, therefore, be affirmed that these Asiatic provinces are not, under their present conditions, adapted for foreign settlements on a small scale. It may be different when their administration has been reformed, and railroads have brought even the central and remoter districts into easy communication with the sea, and thus with Europe; but, till these conditions precedent have been accomplished, I advise intending emigrants to eschew the Levant, and keep rather to the well-approved fields of our own colonies or the Western American States.

CHAPTER VIII.

NECESSARY REFORMS.

Obvious in face of the situation—Range of reforms possible under present *régime* very limited—The Palace itself the *fons et origo* of nearly all the existing misrule—Its corruption and intrigues—The Porte, however, within reach of pressure—Vicious conditions of the whole system, metropolitan and provincial—Necessity of malversation expressed in native proverb—First obvious remedy: better men to be appointed for a fixed term—Necessity of judicial reform—Its difficulty—Models for it in our Indian legislation, and the Egyptian international courts—Hopelessness of reforming the Rayah denominational courts—Reorganisation of the police—Fiscal reforms—Iniquity of the present conscription—Military service should be made obligatory on all—Facility of regimenting Moslems and Christians shown in the Russian and Egyptian armies—These suggested reforms much in excess of what the Porte now offers to concede "in principle"—Reasonableness of its plea of financial inability to do more—Our interest to help it—Its certain submission if we sufficiently insist.

If I have succeeded in conveying any definite idea of the chief physical and economical features of this great country, the intelligence of the reader will anticipate most of the suggestions of reform which it remains to offer in concluding this rapid sketch of the whole. These lie, indeed, on the

very surface of the facts, and the only difficulty in formulating them is to avoid what may be called heroic lines and to keep within limits which are at once practicable and sufficient. The temptation of those who do not know the country is to be doctrinnaire—to frame schemes of reform for it which are as extravagantly impossible as free-trade, household suffrage, the ballot, and school-boards would have been in England a couple of centuries ago.

On any theory of maintaining the full sovereignty of the Sultan, the range of possible reform is very limited; for the Palace itself, which is at once the source and the type of all that is most ignorant, corrupt, and capriciously despotic in such a form of government—the *causa causans*, in fact, of the incompetence, indolence, and fraud that characterise nine-tenths of the administration, cannot on this theory be touched. The word means not merely the individual sovereign for the time being, but the vicious circle of haremic and other intrigue of which—unless, by some rare freak of unaided nature, he be, like Mahmoud, a man of strong intelligence and independent will—he is little more than the central puppet, worked by whatever influence is, for the nonce, uppermost in the crowd of ignorant women, eunuchs, and other parasites who form, practically, his only world. This fountain of nearly all the corruption that taints Turkish administration from its head to its extremities is, of course, beyond the reach of purification; and the most that can be done is to minimise the influence it

exerts over almost every department of the State. Were it not for this impossibility of placing the sovereign at the head of a great movement of reform, or even if the actual dynasty were less effete than it is, the heroic measure of administratively, if not socially, fusing the various races of the empire, and ruling the whole under one common law, might be practicable, but, although this was in fact what the Edict of Gulhaneh promised, with Abdul Hamid for Sultan and Caliph, it would be as hopeless as to turn the current of the Bosphorus from the Marmora to the Black Sea. The dual system, therefore, of one law for the Turk and another for the Rayah must, perforce be still accepted, and the best made of it that can be in any attempt at administrative reconstruction.

But if the Palace is thus hopeless, the Porte happily lies well within the range of outside pressure, and both at and through it—on which the whole system of provincial government depends—very much is possible, if only the pressure be strong enough. A single six months of such diplomatic influence as we exercised immediately before and after the Crimean War might not indeed suffice to cleanse this Augean stable—for that is impossible so long as Turks occupy it and Pasha-nature remains what it is—but it should at least put an end to the scandal of portfolios being held by men who notoriously market their authority and deal in jobs nearly as openly as the fashion was any time a hundred years ago.

The sketch in a previous chapter of the adminis-

trative machinery of a vilayet will have made it sufficiently evident that the primary cause of the general misrule is to be found in the vicious conditions under which the whole working staff, from the governor-general down to the village mouktar, is appointed and act. The vali buys or intrigues for his post at Dolmabagtché or in Stamboul, the mouktar does the same in his kaza with the mudir, and to recoup themselves both as a rule—as also the long chain of functionaries between them—harass the people and defraud the Treasury. If the tenure of office in the upper grades were fixed for any considerable term, the salaries of the vali and his chief subordinates are high enough to make it worth their while to be honest ; [1] but as no one knows how many months or even weeks he may retain his post, the scramble of the whole is to plunder all they can while they may. The still further inducement to dishonesty presses on the lower functionaries in that while their tenure of place is equally uncertain, their salaries are absurdly small, and even then are seldom paid. Thus even if all the traditions of official life were not immemorially against it, integrity has not a chance : the superiors must rob to enrich themselves and feed the patronage on which new

[1] Those of the governors-general range from 30,000 piastres to 20,000 piastres a month (about 3,500*l.* to 2,300*l.* a year), according to the size of the vilayet, and those of the other high functionaries in proportion. In the case of the valis, however, these figures are not adhered to, as when a new one is appointed he is generally allowed a salary corresponding to his previous position and the influence of his patron at the Palace or the Porte.

posts depend, the underlings must do the same to live. There are some—not many—Pashas and Effendis who would, I believe, govern honestly if they could; but the conditions of office make this impossible, and systematic malversation is therefore everywhere the rule. The fact has indeed long been recognised in the common proverb—"*Mal miri deniz dir, itchmein domous dur*" ("The public treasury is a sea; he who does not drink of it is a pig").

The obvious, though perhaps not quite complete remedy for this state of things would be to change the whole system on which superior appointments are now made. At present, as I have said, bribery or intrigue is the sole means by which nearly all these posts are obtained. If any improvement worth the name is to be effected, an end must be sternly put to this practice, and individual fitness be made, as far as possible, the only recommendation to office. That done, and the appointment made tenable, on good-behaviour, for a fixed term, the first stone of administrative reform will have been laid. A better class of functionaries, would then have every motive for the honest discharge of their duties that bad ones now have for negligence and fraud.

Similarly, the administration of justice needs reform throughout all its branches. From the highest to the lowest court of every province corruption is the rule—hardly veiled by even a pretence of purity. Here again, notoriously venal mollahs, cadis, and medjlis-presidents should be replaced by honest ones

adequately paid, and rendered independent of all control except that of the appellate courts, in each of which, one or more carefully selected Europeans should have seats. This latter necessary element will at first occasion a difficulty, as a knowledge of the vernacular and some acquaintance with what is called Turkish law will of course be necessary qualifications, and to find these the Porte's choice will be mainly limited to the crowd of many-raced "advocates" who practise in the consular and native courts of the capital. Of a majority of these it is no slander to say that their presence on the bench of any tribunal would add nothing to its purity; but there is a respectable minority from whom—with, if necessary, some additions from the Alexandrian bar—the necessary contingent might be recruited, if adequate salaries were offered. Concurrently with a reform of the magistracy, the so-called "codes" administered by the mixed criminal and commercial courts should also be improved. At present, as mentioned in a previous chapter, these consist of two or three meagre pamphlets compounded from the Code Napoléon, which, besides containing many provisions utterly unadapted to an Asiatic population, are printed only in Turkish and French, languages that few even of the assessors can read, and which to the great mass of the people in the eastern and southern provinces—where Armenian, Kurdish, and Arabic are chiefly spoken—are as unintelligible as Maharattee or Teloogoo. A model for the amplification and

more special adaptation of these crude compilations may be found either in our own Indian code, which has administratively fused Mussulmans, Hindoos, Christians, and Parsees; or in the compacter body of law used by the Egyptian international courts, an experiment that has worked so well amongst Arabs, Copts, Levantines, and Europeans, as to have surprised even its own authors. It will be hopeless to expect any change in the *shériat* law dispensed in the *mekkemés*, but as between Mussulmans it is not at all bad law; and in matters in which it affects Rayahs, substantial justice may be insured by the compelled admission of Christian evidence and the personal reforms suggested above for these tribunals. The sinecure called a Ministry of Justice in Stamboul should at the same time be so reorganised as, while not interfering with, to be able effectively to supervise the whole of this composite machinery. To make the reform at all complete, the Rayah Ecclesiastical Courts should be abolished, as they are the agents of infinite abuse in their respective communities; but this might at present be too radical a change, and would at any rate be sure to rouse fierce episcopal opposition, while the measure would benefit none but the Rayahs themselves.

The conversion of the present wretched zaptieh force into a well organised gendarmerie, recruited from both Mussulmans and Rayahs, and commanded for a time at least by Europeans, would be a corollary of these civil and judicial reforms. The existing

rabble could not well be less efficient than it is for all purposes of a civilised police: instead of a protection, it is only an added agent of blackmail upon property and no safeguard whatever of life. In the eastern and southern provinces, where the settled population has been immemorially exposed to the raids of the Kurds and Bedoween, this force in its present condition is simply useless; and hence the impunity with which these hereditary robbers plunder village after village under the very eyes of a helpless camaicam or mudir who has, it may be, only a handful of these undrilled, badly armed tatterdemalions, or still worse bashi-bazouks, to send against them. If, therefore, the administration of the country is to be re-organised on a civilised basis, and life and property to be adequately protected, a reform of this so-called police is one of the first necessities of the situation.

The readjustment of the present taxation ranks next in order of necessity to these personal changes in the governing machinery. I have explained—far from exhaustively—how the tithe, *verghi*, and other imposts, as at present assessed and collected, operate to pauperise the industrial classes. As regards the first of these, the obvious remedy for its special mischief would be its commutation for a fixed land-tax, as has been done for our Indian ryots; while the property and income-taxes should be so distributed as to remove their present chief incidence from the poor to the rich, and below a certain line of earnings

should be abolished altogether. This done, and the control of the provincial finances intrusted to Europeans—preferentially Englishmen—the gain to both the peasant farmers and the Government would be enormous, to the one from having to pay only such taxes as the land and their own industry could fairly bear, and to the other from receiving this, unreduced by the huge toll hitherto levied by dishonest functionaries and other middlemen. It is hardly affirming too much to say that the relief and gain thus effected would together equal 50 per cent. of the whole net revenue now paid into the Treasury.

There remains the no less necessary relief of the Mussulmans from exclusive liability to the conscription, without which, so far as they are concerned, nearly all other reforms will lose more than half their value. The exhaustive effect of this cruellest of all taxes has already been indicated, and if even-handed justice is to be done to Moslem and Rayah, the obligation of military service must be imposed, in due proportion to their numbers, on both. This should be all the easier, as the principle of such a reform has been already more than once very solemnly proclaimed,—first, in the *hatti-humayoum* of 1856, and again in a diplomatic memorandum of Fuad Pasha in 1866. Before and during the Crimean war, it had been made a subject of complaint against the Porte that, instead of admitting its Rayah subjects to equality with the Mussulmans

by opening to them the honourable career of military life, it imposed the degrading *kharatch*, or poll-tax, a very badge of slavery. To meet this, the *hatti-humayoum* abolished the obnoxious tax, and threw open army service to all subjects of the empire, but created a new and much lighter contribution called the *bédel-askerié*, which Rayahs should have the option of paying instead of serving with the colours. This disposed of the complaint against the Porte, but failed to attract a single non-Moslem into the army,—Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and all others preferring to pay the new substituted tax. Still influenced, however, by the old jealousy which had originally excluded the subject races from military service, and satisfied with having silenced the diplomatic grumble, the Porte took no further action in the matter, and the distinction—so cruel in its effects on the Mussulman population—has still been maintained. In peace times the so-called legal annual levy is 5½ per 1000 adult males, but the proportion varies greatly in different provinces,[1] and as exemption may be purchased for sums ranging from 50*l.* to 90*l.*—which should be, but only in part are, paid into the military chest,—the draft of a particular district is often made more with reference to the likelihood of discharges being thus bought than to the actual wants of the service,—what is virtually a heavy money tax being thus superadded

[1] In the districts of Sivas and Erzeroum the levies have in some years, even during peace, risen as high as 14 per 1,000.

to the impost levied in flesh and blood, since all who can do so buy themselves off or find substitutes at prices varying with the districts and the times. In war time, there is no limit to the numbers called up, and as the rich and townspeople[1] generally manage to evade the levy, nearly the whole weight of it falls on the rural population. As fixed by the last "law" of 1869, 37,500 men are thus annually called away from their homes, for, first, four years' service in the *nizam*, or regular army, six years' subsequent enrolment in the *rédifs*, or first reserve, and eight afterward in the *niyadé*, or landsturm. In the navy, which is supposed to absorb 50,000 sailors and marines—nearly the whole of whom are drawn from the south coast of the Black Sea—the service is for seven years and then five more in the reserve. Of the whole number thus drafted away from the two services—I may here repeat the statement in a previous chapter—not more than 35 per cent. ever return, and most of these are health-wrecked by rheumatic, gastric, and other disease. Nor is this all: as even those of the Kurds and Arabs who nominally own allegiance to the Porte and pay more or less of other taxes, contribute hardly anything to the conscription, nine-tenths of the whole of this falls on Asia Minor. Little wonder that there the Mussulmans should be "dying out." Against

[1] Constantinople is entirely exempt, under an old privilege granted by Mohammed II., and so its Rayah population escapes payment of the *bédelié*.

all this, the Rayahs pay only an average exemption-tax of about 1*s.* 2*d.* per head of their males. Obviously, no arrangement could be more cruelly unjust to those who, in Asia, yet form the large majority of the population. The remedy, however, is simple: this *bédelié* tax, which *for the whole empire*, produces less than 500,000*l.* a year, should be abolished, and military service be made impartially obligatory on all classes irrespective of race or creed. Mussulmans, Christians, Jews—let them all pay their fair quota of a blood-tax which has hitherto been drawn only from the first, with an effect that—more than polygamy, pre-natal infanticide, and every other alleged vice—has reduced their numbers and sapped their industrial life. The pretended practical difficulty of regimenting men of different creeds is sufficiently negatived by the experience of the Russian army of the Caucasus, in which Orthodox Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Moslems all serve with perfect harmony and efficiency under the same colours; by that of the small Egyptian army, in which Arabs and Copts are undistinguished; and in larger example than either, by that of our own Indian army, whose Hindoo, Mussulman, and other elements render equally willing loyalty to the common "salt." Nor is it merely as an act of justice to the large majority of the population that liability to this burden should be distributed over the whole: policy equally commends it, for such a measure would do more than any other single reform to put an end to the

race and creed jealousies which, in Asia for six, and in Europe for four hundred years have fostered political disunion and made impossible the growth of a common national life in either.

The half-dozen or so of reforms thus indicated, though far from covering the whole field of administrative defects and abuses, would remedy the worst of both, and are all not merely necessary but, I believe, feasible even under the present *régime*. They considerably exceed, however, even the modest scheme propounded by Lord Salisbury, of which the Porte has expressed its readiness to concede "in principle" very much less than one half. This is, in local phrase, simply laughing at his lordship's beard; as no one who knows Stamboul can set the smallest value on a declaration of consent to appoint valis for a fixed term—subject always to a "reserved power of recall"—to repeat the old experiment of collecting the tithes in one or two provinces for Government account, to appoint itinerant European "inspectors" for the provincial courts, and to improve the zaptieh force, but not to officer it with Europeans—"when the state of the finances will permit." This relegation of any real reform at all to an indefinite future merely reflects the fact that every abuse is a vested interest, and will have a serried phalanx of defenders from the Palace-marshal down to the village headman. The mere demand that provincial governors should only be appointed for a fixed term is worse than useless,

unless at the same time some guarantee for their character be also insisted on, inasmuch as to give a bad vali a certainty of office for five years is merely to quintruple his advantage over a compeer who, under the present system, misrules and plunders for but one year, or it may be less. Nor would the fixed appointment of even honest governors suffice to purge the existing provincial administration; for Ahmet Veffik and Midhat rolled into one would be powerless to effect much good unless seconded by a better than the present class of subordinate civil, legal, and police officials. Not that it is possible to change the whole of these, but it is possible to replace notoriously bad ones by better men, and then, with fair salaries regularly paid, to impose by vigorous supervision a stricter rule of duty on the whole. The idea of travelling judicial inspectors is still more fanciful, as such officers could absolutely in no way purify the present administration of justice. They might, possibly, hear of individual abuses and report to Constantinople; but there the matter would infallibly drop, and corrupt cadis and medjlis-presidents would continue to market their *ilâms* and their *masbatas* as before. Nothing short of the actual presence of one or more competent Europeans of approved character on the bench of the appeal courts of each vilayet will, in fact, afford any guarantee of substantial justice being dispensed either there or in the inferior district tribunals. The offer to experimentally suspend tax-farming in one

or two provinces is equally insufficient. The evils of this system have been demonstrated by the experience of centuries, and nothing less than its complete abolition and replacement by an efficient and equitable substitute—such as a settled land-tax would be—will afford adequate relief. And so too with the proposed "reorganisation" of the zaptiehs; the practical sum of this is, that in the capital and a few of the chief provincial centres, this force, rechristened a "gendarmery," may perhaps receive better arms and some elementary drill from Europeans to whom no commands will be given—a measure of improvement, it need hardly be said, as illusory and insufficient as any that precede. These proferred fragments of so-called reform may therefore be dismissed as valueless, and some such substantial, though still moderate, changes as I have sketched must be insisted on if the Anglo-Turkish Convention is not to rank in history beside the *hatti-humayoum.*

But the excuse pleaded by the Porte for the smallness of its concessions to Lord Salisbury, and the delay in carrying even them into execution, is for once, founded on reason and truth. They will entail expense, and this its empty Treasury cannot meet. *A fortiori,* any larger measure of reform will cost still more, and is yet more hopeless if left to depend on either the spontaneity or the means of the Porte itself. This brings us to the kernel of the whole question. It may be assumed from the Convention

that a strong and prosperous—*i.e.* a reformed—Asiatic Turkey is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as an important British "interest;" and I presume to say that I entirely share this opinion. If this be so, like every other Imperial interest, it is worth paying for, and has a distinct money value which any political actuary can appraise. With no shadow of philo-Turkism, therefore, but on the commonest grounds of national self-interest, I am driven to the conviction that *it is worth our while* to enable the Porte—as it is now our right to diplomatically compel it—to carry out the reforms which are essential, not merely to improve the condition of the population, but to save the country from otherwise inevitable anarchy and Russia. A loan for this specific purpose would be real economy, since it would cost vastly less than a war ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence to prevent such a consummation. A sixpence of it, too, need not enter the Stamboul Treasury, but the whole might be administered, still more rigidly than that of 1854, by Commissioners who should apply every pound to its proper use. Nor need the guarantee of such an operation involve much, if any, risk: our Cyprus tribute would cover most of it, and it should not be difficult to find compensations for the balance. With England thus providing the money, and the Porte consenting to the needful personal and other changes, the work of reform would present few great, and no insuperable, difficulties. It would be hailed everywhere by the people, and be opposed

only by the bureaucratic oligarchy, who have so long fattened on the existing abuses. But even corrupt and incapable as are the great majority of this class, it still contains fairly able and honest men enough to carry on a purified administration with the help of a small European contingent, and under some form or measure of effective European control.

That the Porte, however, will accept a loan thus conditioned, and in return for it execute in good faith the reforms it would render possible, no one who knows "the Pashas"—the ruling clique, whether in or out of office—can for a moment hope. It wants money, but not reforms, and will therefore promise and temporise with infinite *finesse*, but not one administrative change of value and importance will it spontaneously and honestly concede. From the Sultan to the lowest *kiatib*, the whole will covertly, if not openly, resist changes opposed to their selfish interests, and will especially resent the introduction of a foreign element into the administration—without which all idea of reform may be at once abandoned. If the work, therefore, is to be done at all in the name of the Porte, the necessity for a degree of pressure far ruder than any we have yet exercised had better be at once recognised. The mild suasion of Sir Henry Layard, backed by the offer of a loan for general purposes, may elicit another *hatti-humayoum;* but this would be as illusory as the last, and five years hence not one of its fine-sounding promises would be fulfilled. If the Convention of

June last, then, is not to be dropped as a confessed *fiasco*, we have no choice—barring one—but to insist on the Porte's share of the bargain being carried out with such help, pecuniary and personal, as we can afford; and if we insist with a firmness becoming the interests at stake, my nearly twenty years' local observation of Turkish statecraft has been in vain, or our programme will be accepted "all along the line."

It is, indeed, possible that the same suicidal obstinacy which refused submission to the terms offered by the Constantinople Conference may now again reject our proffered help. In that event, as our interests would still remain the same, the only alternative would be—to solve the Eastern Question once for all by promoting a general liquidation of the bankrupt estate, and, as our own necessary share of the assets, occupying and administering these Asiatic provinces for ourselves. The suggestion that such would be the best, and in the end the cheapest, course to pursue may be premature; but few things are more certain in the politics of the future than that, unless the Porte with our aid retrieve in Asia the strength it has lost in Europe, its empire is not worth a generation's purchase. Even the changes I have suggested, however, will only postpone, not wholly avert, the catastrophe. There is a native proverb that "a fish rots first at the head," and so it has been with Turkish rule: the source of the whole corruption that permeates nearly every branch

of it is the central power—Porte and Palace combined; and unless this can be purified, no provincial reforms compatible with its sovereign action can do more than delay the inevitable break-up. The bonds of mere dynastic loyalty are everywhere loosened, and the *prestige* even of the Caliph is fast becoming powerless to induce patience under the leaden misrule that comes home to every peasant from the Bosphorus to the Persian border. It is not, however, to be doubted that—whether the Porte itself be cleansed or not—such reforms as I have indicated would at least renew the lease of its empire in Asia, and, with our help, enable it to defy the common enemy. They would, too, so develop the resources and augment the wealth of the country as, by increased commercial relations with Great Britain, to amply recoup to us the cost of any help we might render, and—what is better still—would prepare it for the new civilisation which our heirship to the Porte will one day bring with it.

In the meantime, native industry would reap its proper fruits, and foreign capital might find safe and profitable employment in opening up these rich cradle-lands of mankind to the enterprise of the West. Asia Minor alone will absorb and repay—in railroads, mines, agriculture, and a score other forms of investment—all the redundant capital and skilled energy Europe can furnish for its industrial regeneration. But with the material results of such enterprise Western philanthropy must for long years be

content. For not until religion has ceased to be a chief factor in Eastern life, and Islâm and the spurious Christianity that confronts it, become essentially different from what they are, will even railways and steam ploughs *socially* fuse the half-score races who profess one or other, or neither, of these creeds. In the millennial time coming, when the wolf shall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid, the Moslem will also doubtless mate with the Christian and Jew. But meanwhile, the most that can be hoped is that even-handed justice and fair taxation may politically unite the whole, and prepare them for a better-governed future.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

Recapitulation—Geographical divisions—Asia Minor—Armenia and Kurdistan—Chaldæa—Syria and Palestine—Western Arabia—Conquest of the whole—Population—Creeds—Natural wealth—Administration—Public works—Education—Commerce, nearly all in hands of the Rayahs—Agriculture, its drawbacks—Slavery and Polygamy—Western misconception as to their character and effect—Status of foreigners—Absolute necessity of reforms—Expressed belief that the Porte neither can nor will effect them—Yet, if they be not effected, certainty of Volney's prediction being fulfilled.

IF what precedes at all contribute to a better popular acquaintance with the great territory to the protectorate—and very possibly the future government—of which the Convention of June 4 has committed us, the reader may, perhaps, be helped to a still more definite impression of its chief physical and economical features by a brief concluding retrospect of the whole.

In extent, then, Turkey in Asia covers an area of about 650,000 square miles, and has an aggregate population of some 16,500,000. Geographically, it is parcelled into five great divisions more or less physically distinguished from each other, while the inhabi-

tants belong to nearly a dozen different races yet more markedly distinct. Of the territorial divisions Asia Minor is the largest, the most populous, and the richest in natural wealth. In area, it equals France, and may be roundly said to comprise two-thirds of the gross population. Physically, it consists of an elevated and very fertile tableland walled round by mountains, and intersected by numerous minor chains, outside which valleys of a lower level slope down on three sides of it to the sea. It contains no rivers or lakes of any navigable value, but abounds in minerals and nearly every other natural resource. Its climate presents almost every variety, from the extremes of summer heat to those of winter cold, the northern and western coasts being the most temperate and genial. To it geographically belongs the great Archipelago, of whose forty or more Turkish isles and islets only some ten or a dozen are of any considerable importance.

Armenia and Kurdistan, forming the second division, differ nearly as widely from each other as both do from Asia Minor. The former of the two so far resembles this last that its centre also forms a high tableland, but of much more limited extent, and its surface generally is more mountainous, with poorer soil and less temperate climate, its winter being long and terribly cold, while its short summer heat is, in the interior, excessive. Three considerable and two great rivers—the Euphrates and Tigris—have their sources in it, but they only attain considerable volume

beyond its proper boundaries. It possesses, however, the largest lake of Asiatic Turkey—that of Van—in the centre of the finest valley of all this division, girdled on three of its four sides by lofty and densely wooded hills. Kurdistan is nearly all mountainous, with only one considerable plain southwards, and peopled by tribes almost as savage and lawless now as they were three thousand years ago. The climate of this wild region is much superior to that of Armenia, and while its mountain slopes are clothed with the finest timber, its valleys produce in abundance nearly every variety of cereal and fruit.

Chaldæa (or Mesopotamia and Irak), the third and most homogeneous of the five divisions, comprises an area of about 160,000 square miles, only the small northern section of which is at all mountainous, and immediately south of this the country undulates as far as Nisibin, but below that the narrow range of the Sinjar hills is the only elevation above a mound that breaks the dead level away to the Persian Gulf. The two great features of this province are the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, which here roll for hundreds of miles in their broadest volume, and finally uniting their waters at Kurnah enter the Gulf, as the great tidal Shat-el-Arab (river of the Arabs), 120 miles farther south. The soil generally is a sandy clay to some distance below Baghdad, where it becomes alluvial—the whole rich in agricultural qualities and barren only where irrigation fails. But through long neglect of the old water-courses, and especially of

the river banks, the overflow of the Euphrates has converted the greater part of this southern section into a malarious marsh, peopled only at wide intervals with wretched clusters of amphibious Arabs, where populous towns and villages once abounded.

Returning westward across the vast steppe miscalled the Syrian desert, Syria and Palestine stretch along "the great Mid Sea that groans with memories," from the southern slopes of the Amanus to the confines of Egypt, over a total area of nearly 50,000 square miles. Their most distinguishing feature is the double mountain chain of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which divides the country into three longitudinal sections—the maritime district between the western range and the sea, the long succession of valleys between the two ridges themselves, and the eastern tract between the Anti-Lebanon and the desert. Next to these, the depressed valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea is most noteworthy, sinking as it does to the lowest inhabited level in the world. But while in Syria the mountains are almost everywhere wooded and the valleys well watered and fertile, southern Palestine is for the most part rugged and barren—the Vale of Sharon forming the one exception to its now general desolation. More than 100 miles beyond the great verdant plain of Damascus, the ruins of Zenobe's capital testify that the sandy waste in that direction must also have once bloomed with life and vegetation; but south of this the fine tract of the Haurân has hardly at all

changed since the days of the Roman rule. Northwards, the great pashalic of Aleppo forms geographically, as administratively, a distinct section of the country, stretching from the Euphrates to the gulf of Scanderoon, with an industrious mixed population and nearly all the natural elements of great material prosperity. Of the rivers of this division the Orontes, running north and then westwards into the Mediterranean below Antioch, and the Jordan, draining the great eastern valley and emptying into the Dead Sea, need alone be here re-mentioned; while of its lakes the Dead Sea itself and the Sea of Galilee surpass all other lacustrine waters, not merely in Turkish Asia but in the world, in special interest.

Western Arabia, the last and smallest of these territorial divisions, though fiscally a loss to the Porte, is politically valuable as the Holy Land of Islâm. It includes the two provinces of the Hedjaz —the sacred district proper—and Yemen, both together forming a long belt of mixed sandy plain, low mountains, and still barrener rock. Of the two, Yemen is the less sterile, being better watered by a more plentiful rainfall and by small streams that last throughout most of the year. Several thriving towns and hamlets dot the coast of this half of the division, and inland the abundant vegetation and cooler climate of the low mountain slopes and valleys in some sort justify its old name of Arabia the Blest. In these favoured districts, however, the patriarchal authority of the native chiefs still disputes the claims of the

Porte, whose sovereignty in this direction, therefore, can hardly be said to extend beyond the sultry littoral of the Tehamah, down which it reaches to the near neighbourhood of our own dreary volcanic post at Aden, outside the "Gate of Tears."

From Othman to the fourth Murad, the conquest of this vast total of territory was the work of nearly three centuries and a half. A small feudal estate on the banks of the Sangarius, owned by a single chief, and peopled by the inhabitants of less than half a thousand tents, swelled first into a larger fief, then into an independent principality, and finally into a sovereign State which drove the decaying Byzantines out of Asia, extinguished their empire in Europe, conquered Egypt, and for more than a century was supreme from the Carpathians to the Caucasus and the Indian Sea. Then the tide turned. Nadir Shah first recovered the provinces snatched from Persia; the treaty of Jassy gave Russia the Crimea and the Circassian seaboard; these the war of 1829 supplemented with north-eastern Armenia from Gumri to Batoum; and to this again—besides the losses in Europe—the struggle of 1877-8 has added a still larger slice of the same division, with historic Kars and Batoum itself. While the fortunes of the empire itself, however, have thus prospered and waned, the family that founded it still lives—an example of dynastic vitality only surpassed in modern history by the Hapsburgs. Compared, in fact, with this decadent Ottoman line, Bourbons,

Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Guelphs are *parvenus*. But whether this vitality is to be maintained, or the dissolution that at length seems imminent is to be consummated, is the problem now to be solved.

The population of the great congeries of territory thus built up into an empire may be roundly reckoned at about 16,500,000, of whom some 10,000,000 are Turks—*i.e.* the descendants of the original invaders and of the native races who in turn accepted the faith and race name of their conquerors. The Armenians rank next in numerical strength, with about 2,000,000, and then in descending order the Kurds (1,250,000), Greeks (1,000,000), Syrians (1,000,000), Arabs (100,000), really or nominally subject to the Porte, the bad modern element of Circassians (350,000), Turcomans (90,000), Jews about 60,000, and other nondescripts some 50,000. Of these, the first form the great majority of the agricultural class, especially in Asia Minor; the Armenians are chiefly engaged in petty trade, money-lending, and the smaller handicrafts; the Kurds are partly settled husbandmen and partly nomad shepherds; the Greeks traders and artisans; the Syrians engaged in various industries; the Arabs mostly shepherds; and all below them whatever fortune permits.

The creeds of this motley crowd are as varied as their races, but in the main resolve themselves into Moslem and Christians, with a comparative handful of Jews. Of the first, the Soonee Mussulmans form

the vast majority, and, away from the demoralised capital, and outside the official caste, both their faith and morals are respectable far beyond what Western popular opinion concedes. The Stamboul Pasha and Effendi are polished, "civilised"—what you will, but, as a rule, they are as lax in faith as in life; while, equally as a rule, their provincial coreligionists fear God and are generally upright. While, however, many of the sub-sects which claim affinity with Islâm, differ widely from the "orthodoxy" of both Soonee and Shiite, the religion of nine-tenths of the so-called Christians is an equally degraded travestie of the Gospel faith. Morally, its professors compare very unfavourably with the pure Mussulman, and, barring only a small majority of the whole, are absolutely undeserving of the sympathy so freely wasted on them in Europe.

The physical wealth of this fine territory is as great and varied as its population is mixed and its religions many. First, essentially agricultural, with almost unlimited potentialities of cereal production, it might be the granary of Europe if only it had access to the sea and the Western markets; but, without roads, its cultivation is in the main limited to the supply of local wants. So, too, with other vegetable products: it is only in the maritime districts that any considerable surplus for export is grown. In mineral deposits also the buried wealth of the country is enormous. Thus, the northern coast of Asia Minor is one vast coal field, while other

beds of the same fuel, of iron, copper, silver-lead, bitumen, and emery abound in almost every province —many as yet wholly virgin, and the rest little more than tapped by the primitive methods of working hitherto employed. Splendid forests, of almost equal variety and value, similarly exist all over the country, but, administratively neglected, they are recklessly wasted and yield little or nothing to either the State or to private owners. The fisheries form another rich resource, equally misused and therefore equally unproductive, though their outcome might be limitless, and a market exists at the very doors. Of less importance, but still of commercial value, are the abundant quarries of almost every variety of common and ornamental stone, which lack both of enterprise to work them and of roads for conveyance of their yield to the sea, renders nearly as worthless as the coal of Jezireh and the copper of Dessek.

The government of the country—to which this material backwardness is mainly due—though in theory fairly enough adapted to its present stage of civilisation, in practice could not well be worse. Nearly the whole is centralised at the Porte, and, although an elaborate uniform machinery exists for each of the nineteen governments into which the five sections are now divided, hardly any important administrative act is left to the independent discretion of the local functionaries. These last, too, receive and hold their posts under the worst conditions—with no regard to their individual fitness, and with every in-

centive to malversation while in office. Hence, from the vali of a province down to the village mayor, there exists no guarantee of character, no premium for honest ability, but a general inducement for each to plunder the most he can while he may—and he does it. Justice there is practically none, but judgments in plenty for the highest bidder, be he Moslem or Rayah. The police, too, instead of being a protection to life and property, are merely another agency of petty plunder; while the whole fiscal system, as carried out, could hardly be better adapted to encourage fraud on the Treasury and oppression of the people. But so long as the first link in this long chain of misrule is the Sultan himself, and the Porte the second, there is small hope of spontaneous reform.

With such an administration it is not to be wondered at that the public works of the country are few and far between. The whole artificially made roads of the five divisions barely measure 600 odd miles; of railways there are less than 270 miles—divided among three lines—in operation; of harbour works, the foreign-made quay at Smyrna is the solitary example; while of modern irrigation and navigable canals there are none whatever, or at best only a few short links near Baghdad. The telegraphs alone are at all complete, but even of these the main trunk line from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf is so badly worked that the great Indo-European traffic which at first passed over it,

has been diverted to other routes. Yet roads, railways, and canals are the primary wants of every province, without which material development is impossible, but with which and other reforms both the people and the Government might soon become prosperous. Of the rival schemes for a great Turco-Indian line, with their respective networks of branches, nothing need be here repeated except that neither of them has much chance of success, except with more substantial British support than our own Government as yet seems disposed to give. *But given this must be*, if we are to have an alternative route to India, or even proper strategic command of our new protectorate itself.

What roads and railways are—or would be—to the country, schools are to the people themselves; and here again the supply is far below the actual want. In theory, the national system of education is fairly adequate and complete, but in this, as in government, official apathy and abuse defeat what should be the due result. There are primary schools everywhere, secondary ones in most of the larger towns to which pupils of all creeds are admissible, and in the capital colleges on the same catholic basis. But except in two or three of these last, the instruction given by the whole is unpractical and useless for almost every end of modern education. Long malversation has enormously reduced the endowments formerly available, and though the whole are now under State control, an apathetic (and

himself often ignorant) Minister, with an empty money-chest, can do little to supply the national want of better teaching and more of it. The machinery however exists, and only needs to be adequately fed and intelligently directed to place the Turks—in fact, as they already are on paper—educationally abreast of the third, or even second-rate States of Europe. Except where supplemented by missionary or other foreign zeal—as notably in Syria—the school systems of the Rayah communities are little ahead of those of the dominant race; but unlike the latter, Greeks and Armenians are neither too proud nor too fanatical to bite at the eleemosynary baits—that feed but seldom catch—thrown out by the American and other missionary agents in most of the larger and many of the small towns; and hence mainly their undoubted educational superiority over their Moslem fellow-subjects.

To this latter fact is largely due the exclusion of the Turks from the commerce of the country, which is now almost wholly in Rayah and foreign hands. From Smyrna to Erzeroum, and thence southwards to Bussora, as back westwards again through Syria, the Christians monopolise nearly all the external and most of even the domestic trade, while the Mussulmans as a rule confine themselves to agriculture and the other producing industries—content to leave speculative buying and selling to the sharper-witted *ghiaour*. This is especially so in Smyrna itself, the commercial capital of the country, in the steadily

growing trade of which probably not a score of Mussulmans are engaged. In Brousa, the chief centre of the silk trade, the proportion is again the same. Further inland, at Angora, though two-thirds of the population are Mussulmans, these only grow the mohair, which forms the local staple, while the whole commerce in it is in the hands of the Greek and Armenian minority. In Konia, again, there are few Christians, and consequently little or no trade, the Mussulmans employing themselves almost wholly in tilling the soil; and so also throughout all the commercial centres of the country, wherever Christians in any considerable proportions are found. But this general abstention of the Moslems is only one of what may be called the special incidents of Turco-Asian trade. The elements of a great commerce abound, as we have seen, in nearly every province, but their development is almost everywhere checked by the operations of the same causes—the want of communications, insecurity, and a vicious fiscal system whose administration is even worse than the thing itself. All three of these obstacles combine to minimise trade in the remoter interior, as round Kharpout, Diarbekir, Mosul and other points equally cut off by distance, or by the difficult nature of the intervening country, from the sea; while thanks to steam communication with the Gulf, and so with India and Europe, Baghdad, in spite of its full share of the fiscal vexations which the Porte mistakes for sound taxation, is fast becoming one of the busiest marts of the East. Special causes have further con-

tributed to the decline of Damascus and of Syrian trade generally, except at Hamah and Beyrout, the latter of which is mainly indebted to foreign enterprise for its exceptional prosperity. In the Archipelago, the state in which we found Cyprus is that of nearly every island in the group,—resulting from the same monotony of misrule that cares for nothing but squeezing out taxes without fulfilling one of the duties of good government in return. The Hedjaz and Yemen may be almost said to lie outside the international trade zone, and of neither their present commercial condition nor their prospects, therefore, need anything be here added.

Agriculture, the staple industry of the Mussulman population, forms no exception to the general backwardness of everything else in the country. Christians and Turks are alike obstinate in their attachment to the old methods and implements of tillage, with the result that this is everywhere of the most primitive rudeness, and its outcome totally incommensurate with the general fertility of the soil. The tenures, too, under which land is held are perplexingly complicated, and discourage investments in land for agricultural purposes. The varieties of taxation and the manner of their collection are even more repressive in their effect upon the industry—to the loss equally of the Treasury and the rural population. The abolition, five years ago, of the old and most vicious inland customs-tax afforded some relief, but this is minimised by the still continuing difficulties of

transport from one province to another. Worse, however, than the whole of these drawbacks on successful husbandry is the effect of *usury*, which sucks the very life-blood out of the poorer classes. The remedy for this, as for most of the other existing abuses, is obvious enough—in the establishment of agricultural banks. But the Porte has neither the capital to establish these itself, nor has it hitherto encouraged foreign enterprise to supply and work it under safe conditions; and so the village Shylocks continue to ply their pernicious trade, with wider and deeper ruin to the peasant farmers every year.

Though ranking among the oldest and commonest of Eastern usages, slavery and polygamy are now so chiefly—though not at all exclusively—Mussulman institutions as to form special factors in the problem of Turkish regeneration. The actual working of both, however, differs widely from the popular Western notion of their character and effect on Ottoman social life. Slavery here, in fact, means merely unwaged domestic servitude, and except in the owner's right of property, has nothing in common with the old American institution. The Turkish bondsman is amply protected both by law and public sentiment, and, even if not set free (as he generally is) after seven or eight years' service or at his owner's death, has facilities for attaining liberty which were wholly unknown to his Western compeer. The class, too, is steadily dying out, and has already dwindled to a little more than fractional proportion of the whole

population. And so also as to polygamy. In the East, unlike the West, the husband pays—not receives—a dowry, and this economical fact, coupled with the further cost of the domestic luxury, has among the great majority of the Moslem population reduced the legal privilege to a dead letter. Monogamy is consequently now the rule, and polygamy the exception, even among the wealthier classes; and as the set of fashion is steadily in favour of the former, this ante-Abrahamic custom may also be regarded as practically moribund.

As to the anomalous legal status of foreigners in all parts of Turkey, a few words will here suffice. For the settlement of all quarrels and civil claims between themselves, they are subject only to the jurisdiction of their own consuls, for civil suits with natives to that of mixed tribunals, and for criminal offences against natives to the Turkish courts, with the protective presence of their consuls, without whose consent the sentence, in case of conviction, cannot be carried out. Practically, too, they are exempt from much taxation to which the natives are subject, and altogether enjoy privileges which are as unprecedented as they would be unjust to the Porte if Turkish law were so administered as to fairly protect property and personal liberty in the country. The Capitulations would, in fact, be a monstrous anachronism if justice were at all impartially dispensed in the native courts. But as it is not, they cannot yet

be safely surrendered, and in the meantime they in no wise embarrass the Government in dealing with its own subjects. Foreigners, too, can own real property in any part of the empire, on the reasonable condition of paying the same taxes as are levied from the natives. The present temptations to such investments are however, as we have seen, too heavily back-weighted to be as yet safe. But with a purified administration and the protection resulting from it, no more attractive field for the employment of the redundant enterprise of Europe could be found. Every variety of natural resource invites minting into wealth on the sole condition that better government aid the operation.

Herein lies the whole problem now to be solved, and in the interests of peace and civilisation, the question presses for a reply—Has the Porte either the will or the power to effect these reforms, or must the task be undertaken by other hands? With whatever weight may attach to long residence in the country and some special attention to its politics, I do not hesitate to express a very definite conviction that the present Government has *neither* the will nor the power thus to reform itself and its provincial administration. But if sufficient external pressure be put upon it, it is still strong enough to accomplish many salutary changes. If either civilisation or British interests require more, we must do the work ourselves. Nothing, however, is more certain than that, if we will neither exert this pressure nor our-

[illegible] The [illegible] will continue to follow its [illegible] the people to be [illegible] the generals to carry on war [illegible] and to lose battles—until the [illegible] of power based on its foundation, deprived of its support and losing its equilibrium, shall fall and astonish the world with another instance of mighty ruin."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE CALIPHATE.

THE following short paper (by the present writer) from *Fraser's Magazine* for September, 1877, is still germane to the subject of these volumes, as showing the foundation of the Sultan's title to the highest sovereignty recognised by his Mussulman subjects :—

The sympathy expressed by our Mussulman fellow-subjects in India with the Porte in its present struggle with Russia has, during the past few weeks, provoked considerable newspaper and other discussion of the ground on which this sentiment rests—namely, the title of the Sultan to the Caliphate, or supreme spiritual headship of Islâm. But the pronouncements of the chief parties to the controversy have been so conflicting that popular confusion on the point has been rather worse confounded, and to unscientific outsiders the problem, instead of being in any way solved, has been made obscurer than ever. The learned fog, however, which has been thus thrown round the subject may, I venture to think, be dispersed by a simple reference to the historical facts, which are as accessible to any one who can read D'Herbelot, D'Ohsson, and Gibbon as to the pundits who, armed with Abulfeda and Elmacin, have waged bloodless but still angry war over a topic that involves in reality

no problem at all. Messrs. Baillie, Redhouse, Badger, and "G. B." (the initials of a well-known Anglo-Indian official) by whom the *polémique* has been mainly carried on, are admittedly great authorities on both Arabian history and Mohammedan law; but all four of them would recognise the still higher sanction of the authors of the *Bibliothèque orientale*, the *Tableau général*, and the *Decline and Fall;* and, without travelling much beyond these sources of information, the value of Abdul Hamid's title to the Popeship of Islâm may be made quite sufficiently clear. At any rate, a brief review of *data* which are historically beyond dispute may help the reader to an independent judgment on the subject, and, as a contribution to this result, I take leave to submit the following summary of the facts.

The word "Caliph" (Arab. *Khalifah*), meaning "vicar" or "successor," was the modest title assumed by Aboubekr, the father-in-law and first successor of Mohammed, on the death of the latter in A.D. 632. As the first link in the chain of what is by some called the canonicity of the title, it should be remarked that in his case the succession was by popular election; but in that of Omar, who followed, it was by nomination by Aboubekr on his deathbed, after a short reign of less than two and a half years. As the title of "successor of the successors," which was properly that of the new sovereign, would soon have become reiteratively inconvenient, it was now changed for that of *Emir-almoumenin* (Commander of the Faithful), which—although the original style of Caliph was also retained—thenceafterwards became, and still remains, the more specific designation of the chief Mussulman sovereign. Again, before his death Omar named six persons to succeed him, in order of their election by lot or their own collective vote. These were called *Ahel-alschoura*, or heirs presumptive, and the offer of one of them (Abd-al-rahman) to renounce his chance on condition of the other five permitting him to choose Omar's imme-

diate successor having been agreed to, he named Othman (another of the six), who accordingly became the third Caliph. On his death, in A.D. 655, Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, succeeded to the vacant dignity —by election of the people of Mecca and Medina, acting on his previous nomination as one of the six selected by Omar. Of this most famous of the first four "successors" nothing more need be said than that he removed the seat of the Caliphate to Cufa, and long after his death (in 661) became the cause of the great schism that has since divided the Mohammedan world into the bitterly opposing sects of Soonis and Shiites—the former of which includes the Turks, most of the Arabs, and the great majority of the Mussulmans of India and China, while the latter comprises the Persians and some tribes along the Gulf, who regard the first three Caliphs as usurpers and Ali as the only legitimate successor of the Prophet. These first four princes are called by Mussulman theologians *Khulefaï râshidin*, or "true Caliphs," as distinguished from their Ommiade and Abbasside successors, who, though recognised as legitimate and orthodox, are styled "imperfect." Of the two sons of Ali, Hassan and Hussein—who with their father form what may be called the trinity of the Shiite calendar—the former succeeded to the Caliphate, apparently by mere hereditary right, as nothing is recorded of his election; but his title was disputed by Moawiyah, a near relative of Othman, and governor of Syria at the time, who had equally refused to recognise Ali, and shortly after the accession of the latter had himself been proclaimed Caliph by his own partisans at Damascus. After a few months' feeble tenure of the Cufa sovereignty, therefore, Hassan abdicated in favour of the usurper, and found sanctuary at the Prophet's tomb till poisoned by his wife, at the instigation, it was said, of Moawiyah.

Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, was the first to salute

the new monarch, and divulged, says Gibbon—quoting the language of Tacitus in another connection—the dangerous secret that the Arabian Caliphs might be created elsewhere than in the city of the Prophet. Moawiyah belonged to the tribe of the Beni-Ommiyah, and so founded the first dynasty of the Ommiades, which for nearly a century wielded the sceptre of Islâm in virtue of a purely hereditary right. In A.D. 750 the succession passed to the Beni-Abbas, in the person of Abul Abbas, surnamed Al-Saffah (the Bloodshedder), who, in a battle fought near Mosul, defeated Caliph Marwan II., the last of the Ommiade sovereigns, and, as was thought, totally exterminated their lineage. One member, however, of the family survived—Abd-al-rahman, a grandson of the Caliph Heschiam—and managed to escape into Spain, where his name procured him a favourable reception, and enabled him to found a new Ommiade line, which for nearly three centuries ruled both spiritually and secularly over the eight Mohammedan provinces into which the Peninsula was then divided.

The succession of Al-Saffah by his brother Mansour, after a contest with his uncle and nephew, whose claims were also strongly supported, would further seem to show that neither law nor usage had established any fixed rule according to which the joint spiritual and temporal sovereignty then descended. It passed, in fact, to the strongest, who was generally the oldest male relative of the deceased Caliph, and so under the Abbassides as under the Ommiades, became practically hereditary in the order which is still canonical in the family of the Ottoman Sultans. Al-Mansour it was who removed the seat of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad, which he founded. Under Haroun-al-raschid, his grandson, and our old friend of the *Arabian Nights*, the Mohammedan dominion reached its golden age, from which it gradually declined till, during the reign of Caliph Rahdi (934–41), the twentieth of the

Abbasside line, the whole central executive power had been gradually usurped by the Emirs-al-Omara—the commandants of the Turcoman and Tartar militia, who, from being at first mere slaves or mercenaries imported from Northern Asia, had become, like the Mamlouks of Egypt, the dominant military class—while most of the provinces had segregated into independent principalities, whose sultans, for the greater part, acknowledged the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph, but nothing more. Thus arose the provincial dynasties of the Aglabites, the Edrisites, the Taberites, the Soffarides, the Hamadanites and others, who for nearly five centuries, simultaneously or in succession, divided between them the dominion of Asia and Africa from the Oxus to Tangier. In 1056 Baghdad itself was occupied by the Seljuks, who assumed and for two hundred years wielded the power previously held by the usurping Emirs. During this term, again, the order of succession was frequently broken by the secular princes, who deposed and set up Caliphs at their will, though still selecting from the Abbasside line. The divided sovereignty thus exercised at length came to an end in 1258, when the Tartars under Holagou, the grandson of Zenghis Khan, overran the empire, sacked Baghdad, and extinguished the Arabian Caliphate in the blood of Mostasem, the last of this illustrious dynasty.

In the meantime two other Caliphates—each claiming co-ordinate supremacy with the parent pontificate of Baghdad, but the legitimacy of both of which is repudiated by Mussulman canonists—had been established in Northern Africa and Spain. In the latter country Abd-al-rahman, a grandson of the Ommiade Caliph Heschiam, had, in A.D. 755, as already mentioned, refounded the line of his house in a new dynasty, which for nearly three centuries equalled, if it did not surpass, in wealth and splendour its rivals on the Tigris. Since the extinction of these Spanish Ommiades, in 1036, there has been no Caliphate amongst the Moors;

but the Emperor of Morocco, though a Sooni, claims to be Imâm within his own dominions, and as such has never recognised the spiritual headship of the Sultan.

A century and a half later than the foundation of this Spanish Caliphate, Obeidallah, who claimed to be a descendant of Ali, with the help of the Emir of Sicily drove the Aglabites out of Cairoan—the ancient Cyrene—and established the Fatimite dynasty in Africa in A.D. 908. Moêz, the fourth of this line, having reduced Egypt, transferred the seat of his sovereignty to Cairo—then newly built by his general Gowher—in or about 972; and before his death, three years later, his name was substituted in the mosque prayers for that of Al-Motée (the contemporary Baghdad Caliph) from Tunis to Medina, Mecca being the only place of importance in Arabia that persisted in recognising the house of Abbas. This Fatimite line, in which the succession was no whit more regular than among the Ommiades and Abbassides, lasted, with diminished power, till 1171, when it was suppressed and its Caliphate extinguished by Saladin (then vizier of Adhed, its last representative), who usurped the secular sovereignty and re-proclaimed the spiritual supremacy of the Baghdad Abbassides. The Spanish Ommiades being also now extinct, these latter thus again became the sole recognised Vicars of the Prophet throughout the orthodox Mussulman world, and so continued till their sanguinary extermination by Holagou.

We now reach the first of the three doubtful links in this tangled chain of succession on which the religious title of Sultan Abdul Hamid depends. Some three years after the Mogul capture of Baghdad a young Arab named Ahmed, calling himself a survivor of the slaughtered Abbasside house, made his appearance at Cairo, and claimed to be a son of Dhaher, the last Caliph but one of the line. D'Herbelot tells the story of his claim in language that plainly hints doubt as to its soundness, and the only recorded

evidence in support of it is its recognition by the Mamlouk Sultan Bibars after consultation with his doctors of the law. In the person, therefore, of this alleged scion of the sacred house—who received the name of Mostanserbillah—the Abbasside dynasty, extinguished on the Tigris, was revived on the Nile. A few months after his enthronement he was sent with a strong force to drive the Tartars from Baghdad, but being met by them on his way, was killed in the fight that followed. Opportunely, yet another survivor of Holagou's massacre turned up, and was promoted to the vacant dignity with even scantier inquiry into his pedigree than had been made in the case of Ahmed. But the Caliphate thus restored was from the first a purely spiritual office, without secular power or attributes of any kind, and during the two centuries and a half that intervened to the Turkish conquest the sacred puppets were appointed and deposed at will by the temporal Sultans, with even less ceremony than had previously been observed by the Seljuks at Baghdad. The relation of the Pope to the King of Italy would be in some way analogous to that of these Vicars of the Prophet to the Sultans of the Baharite and Borghite dynasties, but that Pius IX. enjoys a hundredfold more liberty and independence than was accorded to the Caliphs of this Abbasside line in Egypt. Still, the prestige of a great sanctity attached to their office, and their secular colleagues made use of them, as Mr. Baillie observes, to confirm by religious sanctions their own authority over the people. They were even recognised as the source of temporal dignities, and were used by the Mamlouk soldiery —as the Sheikh-ul-Islâm was the other day by the Porte pashas at Constantinople—to deprive of legal authority the sovereigns whom they deposed. Nor was this recognition of their high religious authority confined to Egypt and its Mamlouk princes. Both D'Herbelot and Gibbon tell how Sultan Bajazet, when at the height of his power, besought

[illegible]

Baghdad and the revival of their line at Cairo—is fatal to any theory of apostolical succession in the office for which, down to the suggested usurpation of Selim I., Mr. Baillie seems to contend. As little circumstantial support, however, is there for the contention of Mr. Redhouse that the office throughout its history was, and still is, elective. The apostolical current (to speak in the modern language of electricians) clearly ended with the last of the four "true" Caliphs, and election equally then ceased to be the rule in all three of the legitimate dynasties that followed—as *à fortiori* it has never been with the Ottoman Sultans, with whom the succession to both the spiritual and temporal sovereignty is by descent to the eldest agnate of the family. Their title to the Caliphate must, therefore, be tried by other tests.

D'Ohsson,[1] without citing any contemporary authority, asserts the renunciation, and says that "according to the unanimous opinion of modern jurists"—whom, however, he does not mention—the right of legitimate succession was thereby acquired by the Sultans. "Selim I.," he adds, "further received in the same year the homage of the Schérif of Mecca, who presented to him on a silver dish the keys of the Caaba; and this full and entire surrender of the rights of the *Imâneth*, made on the one hand by an Abbasside Caliph, and on the other by a Schérif of Mecca—both descendants of the Koreïsh, the one by the Haschim branch and the other by that of Ali—compensated in the Ottoman Sultans for the defect of birth or of the extraction required by the law to qualify for the legitimate exercise of the pontificate." He furnishes, however, a practically much better argument for this legitimacy in the accommodating pronouncement of the *Foussoul-Isteroucheny*, a canonical commentary of great repute. "The authority of a prince who has even usurped the supreme priesthood by force and

[1] *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 269.

violence must still be recognised as legitimate, since the sovereign power is now reputed to vest in the person of the strongest ruler, whose right to command is founded on his arms." In other words, in sacerdotalism as in politics:

> "He may take who has the power,
> And he may keep who can."

If this were so beyond question, and independently of race, the title of the Ottoman Sultans would be indisputable, since for more than three centuries and a half they have been the chief Mussulman sovereigns of the world. But the historical precedents are all opposed to such a doctrine. It was indeed in a sense by force of arms that both the Ommiade and first Abbasside dynasties were founded; but their princes were of the pure Arab blood, and could claim descent, more or less direct, from one or other of the first sacred four; nor is there, as Dr. Badger—who stoutly affirms the spuriousness of the Ottoman pontificate—observes, any instance on record, or any authority whatever, sanctioning the transfer of the office by an individual, or its bestowal on one of an alien race. But Mr. Baillie goes beyond this negative evidence, and quotes D'Ohsson in support of his averment that Mohammed himself declared that the "Imâms must be of the race of the Koreïsh," the very pure-blooded Arab tribe to which the first four Caliphs and their Ommiade and Abbasside successors belonged—a condition which, if essential, is of course fatal to the claim of the Padishahs. Mr. Redhouse, however—who defends the Ottoman title, but whose logic in the controversy is not quite equal to his zeal—throws doubt on the authenticity of this *dictum*, and, without combating the fact that it figures in the abridgment of *Omer Nessefy*, which holds the place of a catechism in the Mussulman schools, says "It would seem to be a safe conclusion that there never was a Prophetic injunction to this effect."

But the safety of this conclusion is not quite apparent in view of its direct rebuttal by an authority whom D'Ohsson regards as "the soul and essence of Mussulman doctrine." Certain it is, too, that the whole of the Arab dynasties—including the anti-Caliphates of the Fatimites and the Spanish Abbassides—claimed descent from the Koreïsh tribe, a fact that supports a presumption at least in favour of the limitation contended for by Mr. Baillie. If, therefore, the question were being argued on the morrow of the event, judicial logic would on this ground alone compel a rejection of the Ottoman claim; for the whole weight of the evidence is in favour of the *dictum* cited by Mr. Baillie, and in a theocratic system founded on such utterances its great authority must be admitted. But, in matters of dogma as with matters of fact, time and circumstances effect and legitimise important changes. In both Christianity and Islâm many points of now accepted doctrine would have been rank heresy one, two, three, or five centuries ago, just as in secular affairs we all know how often success has sanctified treason. Selim not only obtained from Motowakkel the forced or voluntary renunciation of his office, but, as already mentioned, induced the Schérif of Mecca—the next highest religious authority of the Mussulman world, and himself of the pure Koreïsh blood—to openly recognise the validity of the transfer. Nor was this all: through the influence of this venerated personage he won to his allegiance most of the chief Desert tribes, and from Suez to Aden was everywhere acknowledged as both Caliph and King. Since then the temporal authority of the Sultans along the Arabian coast, and inland over Yemen, has greatly fluctuated, but their claim to religious supremacy has never been substantially disputed. True it is that the Imâms, or Sultans, of Muscat and Zanzibar, and their subjects—though Soonis—have never recognised the validity of Motowakkel's act, and so regard this Ottoman pontificate as heretical and

corrupt. But they are only a handful amongst the many millions of the orthodox faithful who, from the Danube to Borneo, now reverence Abdul Hamid as Vicar of the Prophet; and neither their petty recusancy nor the greater schism of the Shiites—who have never recognised any Caliph since Hassan, the son of Ali—materially affects the value of a title which, whatever may have been its original flaws, has been otherwise generally acknowledged for 360 years. Even Dr. Badger, therefore, while arguing against the claim, perforce admits that "the Ottoman Khaliphate, in fact, as distinct from the Sultanate, stands in the same position towards Islâm as the Popedom does towards Christendom"—a measure of legitimacy and practical authority which most politicians at least will think sufficient.

To gather up and restate, therefore, the elements of this so-called problem—the office of Caliph was, in the case of its first four universally acknowledged occupants, elective; in that of both the Ommiade and Abbasside dynasties that followed, and which are similarly recognised by all Mussulmans except the schismatic Shiites, it was virtually hereditary; then followed, as has been said, a *lacuna* of some four years, during which the line of succession was wholly broken, to be re-established in the historically doubtful founder of the Egyptian Abbassides, who was partly nominated by the Mamlouk Sultan and partly chosen by his Ulema, as was also his immediate successor. Thence on till the extinction of this dynasty, again, the rule of descent was also in effect hereditary, though not always in the direct line. But throughout this long succession of nearly a thousand years these Caliphs, from Aboubekr to Motowakkel, were or claimed to be members of what may be termed the Levitical Koreïsh tribe, to which there is strong authority for saying Mohammed himself declared every occupant of the sacred office must belong. Up to this point, too, there is, as has been observed, no instance on

record of the office having been transferred by an individual occupant of it, and least of all to a member of an alien race. In the teeth, however, of this negatively proved canon the last of the Egyptian Abbassides, either voluntarily or under pressure of force, renounced the dignity in favour of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I.—by blood a Tartar—on that prince's conquest of Egypt; and from him the office has since descended, conjointly with the temporal Sultanate, to the present sovereign, Abdul Hamid. If the premisses of the argument ended here, it would be safe to affirm with Dr. Badger, Mr. Baillie, and "G. B." that the Ottoman claims to the dignity are both canonically and historically untenable. But the syllogism is practically upset by the authoritative expediency of the *Foussoul-Isteroucheny*, already quoted, and by the more substantial fact still that for more than three centuries and a half this "usurpation" of the Ottoman Sultans has been condoned and sanctioned by the general Musssulman world, from Bosnia to Kashgar. In fact, time and a consensus of Mussulman opinion have created for the house of Othman quite as good a title to the office as could be claimed for any of the dynasties since Ali and Hassan. For all purposes of practical politics, therefore, the validity of this must now be recognised. The notion that there ever was anything like an apostolical succession in the office is as exploded as our own old dogma of Divine right; and, that cleared away, it is—with all respect for the eminent scholars who blunt their pens against an accomplished and now irreversible fact—mere Quixotism to dispute a claim which Mussulmans themselves all but universally acknowledge.

TENURE OF REAL PROPERTY BY FOREIGNERS.

SUBJOINED is the text of the "law" and "protocol," dated June 18, 1867, which now regulate the tenure of realty by foreigners in all parts of Turkey:—

With the view of developing the prosperity of the country, putting an end to the difficulties, abuses, and uncertainties which arise out of the exercise of rights of property by foreigners in the Ottoman Empire, and completing, by a precise regulation, the guarantees due to financial interests and administrative action, the following legislative enactments have been decreed by order of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan:—

Art. 1. Foreigners are admitted, by the same title as Ottoman subjects and without any other condition, to the enjoyment of the right of possessing real property in town or country in any part of the Ottoman Empire, except the province of Hedjaz, on submitting to the laws and regulations which bind Ottoman subjects themselves, as hereinafter provided.

This enactment does not concern Ottoman subjects by birth who have changed their nationality, to whom a special law will apply.

Art. 2. Foreigners who are owners of real property urban or rural are consequently assimilated to Ottoman subjects in everything which concerns such real property.

The legal effect of this assimilation is: 1st. To oblige them to conform to all police or municipal laws and regulations which do now or shall hereafter affect the enjoyment, transmission, alienation, and mortgaging of lands. 2nd. To pay all charges and contributions of whatever form, or denomination, to which real property in town or country is or shall hereafter be made liable. 3rd. To render them

directly subject to the jurisdiction of the Ottoman civil tribunals in every dispute relating to landed property and real actions of every kind, whether as plaintiffs or as defendants, even when both parties are foreign subjects; in every respect by the same title and under the same conditions and the same forms as Ottoman owners, and without their being entitled in such cases to any advantage on account of their personal nationality, but with the reservation of the immunities attaching to their persons and their movable effects under the terms of the Treaties.

Art. 3. In case of the insolvency of an owner of real property, the assignees under his insolvency shall apply to the proper authority and the Ottoman civil courts for an order for the sale of such of the insolvent's real possessions as are, according to their nature and the law, liable to the owner's debts.

The same course shall be taken when a foreigner obtains from any foreign court a judgment against another foreigner being an owner of real property. For the execution of such judgment upon the real estate of his debtor, he shall apply to the competent Ottoman authority for an order for the sale of the property liable to the owner's debts and the judgment shall not be executed by the authorities and the Ottoman tribunals until they have satisfied themselves that the property proposed to be sold really belongs to the category of those possessions which can be sold to pay the owner's debts.

Art. 4. A foreign subject shall have the power of disposing by gift or will of such real possessions as the law allows to be disposed of under that form.

With respect to such real estate as he shall not have disposed of, or which the law does not permit him to dispose of by gift or will, the succession thereto will be regulated by the Ottoman law.

Art. 5. Every foreign subject shall enjoy the benefit of

the present law as soon as the Power whose subject he is shall have assented to the arrangements proposed by the Sublime Porte for the exercise of the right of property.

PROTOCOL.

The law which grants to foreigners the right of holding real property in no way compromises the immunities guaranteed by treaties which will continue to protect the person and the movable property of foreigners who shall have become owners of real estate. As the exercise of this right of property must tend to induce foreigners to settle in greater numbers upon Ottoman territory, the Imperial Government deems it its duty to anticipate and obviate the difficulties to which the application of the law may possibly give rise in certain localities. It is with this object that the following arrangements have been decided upon :—

The abode of every person residing upon Ottoman soil being inviolable, and no one being able to enter it without the consent of its master, except by virtue of orders emanating from the competent authorities and in presence of the magistrature or other official possessing the necessary powers, the abode of a foreign subject is inviolable in like manner in conformity with treaties; and the agents of the public force cannot enter therein without the presence of the consul or consular delegate of the nation to which such foreigner belongs. By "abode" is understood the place of residence and its appurtenances—that is to say, the immediate grounds, courtyards, gardens, and contiguous inclosures, to the exclusion of all the other remoter parts of the property.

In localities situated at less than nine hours' distance from the consular residence, the agents of the public force cannot enter the abode of a foreigner without the presence of the consul, who, on his part, is bound to give his immediate

co-operation to the local authorities, so that more than six hours shall not elapse between his receiving notice and the departure of himself or his representative, in order that the proceedings of the authorities may never be held in suspense for a longer period than twenty-four hours.

In localities nine hours, or more than nine hours, distant from the residence of the consular agent, it shall be competent to the agents of the public force, on a requisition from the local authority, and in presence of three members of the Council of Elders (*Conseil des Anciens*) of the commune, to enter the abode of a foreign subject, without the co-operation of the consular agent; but this only in case of urgency, and with a view to search or verification in the crimes of murder, attempted murder, arson, robbery effected by armed weapons or by means of burglary or during the night in an inhabited house, armed revolt, and coining; and this also, whether the crime shall have been committed by a foreign subject or by an Ottoman subject, and whether within the habitation of a foreigner or outside such habitation, or in what place soever.

These stipulations are applicable only to those parts of the property which constitute the abode as previously defined. Beyond the abode, the action of the police shall be free and unreserved; but in case of an individual charged with a crime or offence being arrested, and such individual being a foreign subject, the immunities attached to his person by the treaties must be observed with reference to him.

The functionary or officer whose duty it may be to make the domiciliary visit in the exceptional circumstances above laid down, and the members of the Council of Elders who shall be present at it, are bound to draw up a statement (*procès verbal*) of such domiciliary visit, and to communicate it forthwith to their immediately superior authority, which latter will transmit it without delay to the nearest consular agent.

A special instruction will be issued by the Porte to regulate the action of the local police in the different cases above referred to.

In localities more than nine hours distant from the residence of the consular agent, and in which the law relative to the judicial organisation of the vilaët shall be in force, foreign subjects shall be judged without the presence of the consular delegate, by the Council of Elders discharging the duties of justice of the peace and by the tribunal of the *caza*, both with regard to suits not exceeding 1,000 p. and to contraventions entailing only a maximum fine of 500 p.

Foreign subjects will have in all cases the right of lodging an appeal to the tribunal of the *sandjak* against judgments given as aforesaid; and such appeal shall be heard and decided in presence of the Council, conformably with the treaties. Pending appeal, all execution of sentences to be suspended. In any case the forcible execution of sentences pronounced under the above circumstances cannot take place without the concurrence of the consul or his delegate.

The Imperial Government will prepare a law to regulate the necessary forms of procedure to be observed in the practical exercise of the arrangements above specified.

Foreign subjects in all localities are authorised to accept by their own option the jurisdiction of the Councils of Elders or the tribunals of *cazas*, without the intervention of the consul, in litigations within the competence of these Councils or tribunals, reserving always the right of appeal to the tribunal of the *sandjak* where the cause shall be heard and judged in the presence of the consul or his delegate. The consent of the foreigner judged as aforesaid without the presence of the consul must, however, be given in writing and as a preliminary to all proceedings.

It is to be clearly understood that these restrictions do not extend to causes relating to questions of real property,

which will be conducted and decided according to the conditions provided by the law. The right of defence, and of the publicity of the proceedings, are ensured in all matters to foreigners appearing before Ottoman tribunals as well as to Ottoman subjects.

The preceding arrangements will remain in force until the revision of the existing treaties, a revision regarding which the Sublime Porte reserves the opportunity of bringing about at some future time an understanding between itself and the friendly Powers.

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